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# Daily Report

# Latin America

FBIS-LAT-96-048
Monday
11 March 1996

# Daily Report
## Latin America

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## Inter-American Affairs: Andean Support Urged for Colombia

*PA0903205396 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1730 GMT 8 Mar 96*

[By Jose Luis Castillejos]

[FBIS Translated Text] Trujillo, 8 Mar (NOTIMEX) — Today, Colombian Foreign Minister Rodrigo Pardo said here that the U.S. decision to "decertify" Colombia as a collaborator in the international fight against drug trafficking is a "deplorable" action."

Pardo, who is assessing with his counterparts from Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, and Panama the efforts undertaken in the fight against drug trafficking, asked the United States to be "more understanding" and to restore economic assistance.

"In Colombia, in contrast with the United States, this is not a temporary problem nor is it influenced by politics. It is an issue of national concern that we hope to deal with more effectively," the Colombian foreign minister said.

He stressed that a country's occasional efforts are not enough to put an end to this problem, but that it is necessary to improve international strategies and reduce consumption and money laundering.

He deemed "serious" the U.S. measure of "decertifying" Colombia when drug trafficking has given rise in that country to narcoterrorism, assassinations, violence and, currently, problems of political instability and corruption.

Pardo noted that there are reports indicating that money laundering operations take place mainly in the United States, the leading consumer of drugs. Therefore, he said, instead of demanding the right to fight drug trafficking [as received], the United States should solve its domestic problem.

What we need, he added, is multilateral evaluation mechanisms, and this is an aspect in which the Latin American countries should work within the framework of the organization of the OAS tasked with fighting drug trafficking.

Pardo, who is attending the meeting of the Andean Group's foreign ministers, remarked that Colombia has recently proposed, along with other countries in the region, that a world drug summit be held, but the United States had raised objections.

The Colombian diplomat is participating in the preparatory work of the Eighth Andean Group Summit, scheduled for this weekend. Pardo emphasized his country's achievements in 1995 in the wake of the Cali Cartel's dismantling.

He recalled that new laws on money laundering and illegal enrichment were approved in Colombia that provide the executive with better instruments to fight the corruption resulting from drug trafficking.

"Drug trafficking is an international concern, and all the efforts undertaken by Colombia or any other country — regardless of how successful they might be — will not bring about a reduction, unless effective and definite policies are adopted to curb consumption," he said.

Pardo, who is in Trujillo, a city located 561 km from Lima, believes that as long as there is a high demand, such as the one in the United States, other countries will continue to supply the drugs.

Diplomatic sources attending the preliminary meetings of the Eighth Andean Presidential Summit, which begins tomorrow morning in this city, disclosed that Colombia is exerting a strong pressure on the other Andean countries to issue a statement against its "decertification."

Colombia is trying to get the chiefs of state of Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, and Foreign Minister Miguel Angel Burelli — Venezuela's delegate to the summit — to make a statement in the "Trujillo Document" supporting its efforts in the fight on drugs.

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## Inter-American Affairs: Andean 'Solidarity' With Colombia

*PY0903002396 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2115 GMT 8 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Trujillo (Peru), 8 Mar (EFE) — Colombian Foreign Minister Rodrigo Pardo told EFE today that Colombia will not demand from its partners of the Andean Pact a declaration of solidarity as a result of the U.S. Government's decertification in regard to the country's drug enforcement strategy.

Pardo said, however, that such a declaration would be "desirable and very well received" at the conclusion of the Eighth Andean Presidential Council summit, to be held on 9 and 10 March in Trujillo, 561 km north of Lima.

The Colombian drug enforcement strategy was recently "decertified" by the U.S. Government, with the subsequent threat of stopping of all U.S. economic aid. [passage omitted]

### Inter-American Affairs: U.S. Idea on Coca Crops Rejected

*PY0903020296 La Paz Radio Cadena Nacional Network in Spanish 2300 GMT 8 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The U.S. idea of using herbicides to eliminate coca plantations in the Chapare region has received a categorical no.

President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada agreed with diverse sectors of the population in rejecting the insistent proposal made by U.S. Representative Dan Burton. Sanchez de Lozada said he doubts Robert Gelbard would agreed with the Republican representative. The president added that such an initiative would be illegal in Bolivia:

[Begin Sanchez de Lozada recording, in progress] ...it is not clear. I do not think he said that. He knows more than anyone else that our law, Law 1008, forbids the use of herbicides. We cannot implement any spraying policy without changing the law. [end recording]

Sanchez de Lozada's remarks were made shortly before boarding the plane, after a delay of several hours, to fly to Peru, where the Andean Pact presidential summit began this afternoon. [passage omitted]

### Inter-American Affairs: Rio Group Rejects Helms-Burton Bill

*PY0903031496 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 2319 GMT 8 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Buenos Aires, 8 Mar (TELAM) — The Foreign Ministry reported today that the Rio Group categorically rejected the U.S. approval of the Helms-Burton bill contemplating new economic sanctions against Cuba because it considers that the law violates the principle of respect for the sovereignty of other states.

The Foreign Ministry issued a declaration saying that the law is contrary to WTO dispositions and the spirit of friendship and cooperation that must characterize the relations of countries from this hemisphere.

The Rio Group temporary secretariat is currently operating in Buenos Aires. The document issued by the group expresses its "most categorical rejection of the decision to approve this law, which violates principles and norms established by international laws and the UN and OAS charters."

Rio Group member countries also expressed their concern for the consequences of the bill, known as the "Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act."

The document says that the act "ignores the basic principle of respect for the sovereignty of other states and its implementation will involve the extra-territorial application of an internal law that is contrary to international law."

The declaration exhorts the U.S. Government to consider "the negative effects of the implementation" of a law that attempts to go "against the principles ruling regional coexistence and the purpose of hemispheric integration."

The Rio Group declaration was unanimously approved by the 14 member countries, including Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Peru, Colombia, and Venezuela.

### Inter-American Affairs: U.S. Idea on Fumigation Rejected

*PY0903015696 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0000 GMT 9 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Trujillo (Peru), 8 Mar (EFE) — Colombian President Ernesto Samper rejected today as "unacceptable" the threats and sarcastic criticisms made on 7 March in Washington by a congressman and a U.S. Government spokesman.

U.S. Representative Dan Burton proposed to the U.S. Congress the need to fumigate massively the coca plantations in Colombia, Bolivia, and Peru.

Also, Robert Gelbard, U.S. assistant secretary for international narcotics and law enforcement affairs, tried to ridicule Colombian Justice Minister Carlos Medellin Becerra because of his last name.

The legislator and the U.S. official appeared in Washington before the House Western Hemisphere Subcommittee.

During the appearance, Republican congressman Burton, who is president of the subcommittee, demanded that the United States pressure Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia, and all the coca producing countries, to use herbicides to completely eradicate coca cultivations.

The Andean countries, especially Bolivia, resist the use of herbicides for fear of damaging the ecology, but Burton said that cocaine producers destroy the environment even more with their powerful precursors, which are then thrown into rivers or abandoned in clandestine labs.

Gelbard tried to ridicule Minister Medellin Becerra by saying "that name suits him just fine," and labeling as ridiculous Medellin Becerra's comments that the U.S. economic aid to Colombia to fight drug trafficking is "poor and insignificant." [passage omitted]

After arriving in Trujillo to attend the Eighth Andean Presidential Council Summit, President Samper rejected Gelbard's comments as "unacceptable."

Regarding Burton's proposal, Samper said that "following that logic, the countries of this region will have to send secret commandos to the United States to capture drug addicts and traffickers in the streets of New York."

Samper also said that before coming to Trujillo, 561 km north of Lima, he left his country's internal matters in order.

"I left the house in order; otherwise, I could not have come," he said, in reference to the political problems facing Colombia due to the accusations against him of having received money from drug traffickers during his electoral campaign in 1994.

Samper said he was happy to come to Trujillo because it is the only important Peruvian city he has not visited.

Samper received a lot of applause from the people gathered in front of the hotel where the five presidents attending the Andean summit are staying, especially when he came out into the balcony and gave the victory sign with his fingers. [passage omitted]

### Inter-American Affairs: Samper on Andean Summit Goals

*PA0903160996 Lima Radio Programas del Peru Network in Span 1310 GMT 9 Mar 96*

[From the "Solar Newscast"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Colombian President Ernesto Samper Pizano categorically rejected statements by U.S. officials arguing that it was too coincidental that two days after the decertification, the Colombian authorities were able to kill Jose Santacruz Londono, the Cali cartel's third ranking man. President Samper spoke to Radio Cadena Nacional on the significance of the Andean Group Summit in Trujillo, Peru.

[Begin Samper recording, in progress] ...for a new organizational scheme of the Andean Group. Since three years ago, the Andean Group has somewhat come down in the world. Perhaps, what the Andean Group needs is a better operational structure, and this is the objective of the summit: to give a new organizational scheme to the Andean Group and help it compete with Mercosur [Common Market of the South]. Although Mercosur is an experiment that began after the creation of the Andean Group, it is at a more advanced stage than the Andean Group. [end recording]

President Samper will meet with the presidents of Bolivia, Peru, and Venezuela. The chiefs of state conveyed to President Samper their full support for Colombia during a private dinner. President Samper was warmly welcomed by the people on the streets of Trujillo, Peru, where he received undivided support and where the U.S. attitude was rejected.

### Inter-American Affairs: Fujimori Opens Andean Summit

*PA0903180496 Lima Radio and Television Network in Spanish 1431 GMT 9 Mar 96*

[Address by President Alberto Fujimori at the opening of the Eighth Andean Pact Summit at the Cesar Vallejo Hall of the National University of Trujillo, in Trujillo, Peru — live relay]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bolivian President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada, Colombian President Ernesto Samper Pizano, Ecuadoran President Sixto Duran-Ballen, Panamanian President Ernesto Perez Balladares, Your Excellency Miguel Angel Burelli Rivas, foreign minister and representative of Venezuelan President Rafael Caldera, ladies and gentlemen:

Peru once again has the great honor and the huge satisfaction of being the site of a meeting of the Andean Presidential Council and consequently, of the heads of state of the five countries that are signatories to the Cartagena Agreement.

Similarly, our country receives with open arms, with equal joy, and with the utmost feeling of fraternity this year, the head of state of Panama, who is a special guest at this eighth regular meeting.

Today, along with the other presidents, His Excellency Ecuadoran President Sixto Duran-Ballen is visiting our country for the first time. We have received him with respect and consideration and even with the feeling of fraternity inspired by our brothers, the Ecuadoran people, and we will always receive him this way. [applause]

Significant changes have been made since the first formal meeting was held in Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, in 1989, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Andean Group.

On that occasion, when short-, medium-, and long-term policies were drafted aimed at strengthening regional integration, the countries started on a road that saw an important milestone in the meeting in La Paz, Bolivia, the following year, the decision to create a free trade zone.

In Caracas, Venezuela, in 1991, the presidents reiterated the importance of fulfilling the commitments for the establishment of a common market. In that same year, in Cartagena de Indias once again, the so-called Barahona

Act established that beginning in 1992, an Andean Pact free trade zone and a customs agreement would be implemented. The declaration of this sixth summit in Colombia contained 25 points, among them the ones having to do with a common external tariff, a list of exceptions, export incentives, intellectual property, and the promotion of an Andean court of justice, an institute that underwent substantial changes during the last meeting, held in Quito in 1995.

This is a mere recounting of events with no other reason than to make a list not of unfulfilled goals but of goals that remain to be attained. All the difficulties inherent in a process such as the Andean integration have not prevented its implementation because of the political will of all governments, past and present. It is fair to recognize this will, which has represented the Andean people's aspirations to create a huge economic and political unity. However, the perceived dynamics outside the region force us to move forward at a faster pace. The Peruvian Government believes we must make an extraordinary joint effort to overcome areas of conflict in the Andean integration process, both in matters of economic policy as well as the competitiveness of the sectors that not only export to the Andean market, but to third markets.

That is why it is important to coordinate policies and to place an emphasis on the development of infrastructures linked to the consolidation of the process. If our national policies are conservative in this regard, progress will evidently be slower.

Another element of vital importance is regional peace, the consolidation of national peace in countries such as Peru, which has experienced times of violence that have threatened to cross our borders.

Also, the all-out war on drug trafficking is a vital point, because this scourge also constitutes a regional threat.

I want to particularly stress the significance of regional peace, because this must become an element that will enable us to be considered a country without the sort of high risk associated with war. It is our aspiration, and I do not believe I am mistaken when I say that it is also the aspiration of the Ecuadoran Government and people, to continue the peace process that began with the Itamaraty [Brazilian Foreign Ministry headquarters] Declaration and which has received the support of the Rio Protocol's guarantor countries. Beyond groundless political positions that might arise in one country or another, the two governments have adopted positive initiatives. The most tangible sign of this is that today, we are all aware of the need to settle the so-called unresolved disputes. At present, we already have an agenda to hold talks within the framework of the Rio de Janeiro Protocol and its complementary instruments. This process should not be interrupted, as history has offered us the opportunity to find a definitive solution to our disagreement.

Last night, on the streets of Trujillo — just as we did some time ago at the San Francisco de Quito Plaza — we stated our earnest aspiration to achieve peace. Integration is basically peace, peace to achieve our development and promote our economic development. The ultimate goal of Andean integration is to achieve greater levels of well-being for the people of (?the member nations). In other words, our goal is to promote the economic and social development, and hence, strengthen the governability and democracy of our people.

I do not want to end this speech without referring to the city of Trujillo, which — in its best array — has welcomed such illustrious guests. Six months before General Jose de San Martin proclaimed Peru's independence, Trujillo had already done this. This is the reason why Simon Bolivar said that our motherland's independence was born, christened, and confirmed in this beautiful and brave city. In addition, Trujillo can boast of being the birthplace of Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, a prominent Peruvian statesman and philosopher, who was a worthy and relentless advocate of Latin American integration. Thus, the very noble city of Trujillo has earned enough merit and glory to host this Eighth Andean Presidential Summit, and by virtue of this, to welcome the representatives of the people liberated by Bolivar and San Martin.

I believe the success of this meeting will consist in restoring the effectiveness, pragmatism, and credibility of the process. This will lead, if we achieve our goals, to the strengthening of the Andean Group within the current trend of global integration. Because of this, we also plan to outline a new Andean institutional framework to remove bureaucratic hitches from the agreement so that it will be in tune with agreements reached in other continental integration plans such as NAFTA [North American Free Trade Agreement] and Mercosur [Common Market of the South]. I am convinced that the Trujillo summit will mark a new and decisive breakthrough in this path we have walked together since 1979 and whose final goal is the integration of our people. Many thanks. [applause]

### Inter-American Affairs: 'Reform' Focus of Andean Summit

*PY0903204696 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1657 GMT 9 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Trujillo (Peru), 9 Mar (EFE) — Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori today opened the Eighth Andean Regional Group (Gran) Presidential Summit during which a deep-rooted reform of this integrationist organization will be approved.

As he opened the summit, at the Trujillo National University, founded by Simon Bolivar 172 years ago, Fujimori asserted that this reform is vital for the Gran's future and also noted that regional peace is also essential for integration.

Fujimori also mentioned the negotiations Peru is holding with Ecuador in search of a solution to the border conflict that involved the two countries in an undeclared war early last year.

After noting that "history now gives us a chance to definitively solve our disagreements," Fujimori said that these negotiations "must not stop."

Panamanian President Ernesto Perez Balladares is attending the Trujillo summit, which is being held today and tomorrow, in his capacity as observer because his country has asked to be admitted as a Gran member.

Venezuelan President Rafael Caldera is the only Andean chief of state not attending the event. Foreign Minister Miguel Angel Burelli has come instead.

Tomorrow the Andean presidents will sign the Trujillo Act that will formalize the Gran's institutional reform. As a result of this reform the organization will now be called Andean Integration System (SAI) [Sistema Andino de Integracion] and will have a new structure.

This structure will include an autonomous General Secretariat that will have power to adopt political decisions, with the purpose of making the integration process be more dynamic and so that it may pull out of the stagnation is has been experiencing for the past 80 years.

The Andean Presidential Council meeting, that is the official name of this summit, was preceded by other preliminary meetings held by experts and foreign and commerce ministers of the Gran member countries.

These meetings developed within an atmosphere of uncertainty that, to a great extent, still prevails because the negotiators were unable to reach an agreement over the new structure that was to be approved through the reform.

However, the summit is being held in the midst of a festive atmosphere, in which the people of Trujillo don't seem to get tired of applauding and giving the presidents a warm welcome.

Ecuadoran President Sixto Duran-Ballen was one of the presidents to receive the warmest welcome as his Peruvian counterpart Alberto Fujimori did when he visited Quito in 1992.

Colombian President Ernesto Samper was another to receive a great applause and expressions of solidarity in a loud voice, due to the U.S. threats to impose sanctions on his country after having "decertified" it in the struggle against drug trafficking.

All of them, including Ernesto Perez Balladares from Panama and Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada from Bolivia, "mixed with the crowd" last night when they walked from the hotel they are staying at to the Central Club, where they had dinner. The inhabitants of Trujillo applauded the chiefs of states with great enthusiasm.

Shouts of "peace, peace!" and "Viva Ecuador" could be heard as Ecuadoran President Duran-Ballen passed by.

## Inter-American Affairs: Andean Leaders on U.S. Drug Role

*PY0903231496 Lima Radio Programas del Peru Network in Spanish 2242 GMT 9 Mar 96*

[Live relay by Juan Bejarano Vergara from Trujillo, Peru]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Andean foreign ministers are still continuing their third working session in the Cisneros building. One of the issues they are supposedly discussing is the Trujillo Act, which is to be signed by the Andean presidents tomorrow. This act includes basic issues related to the subregional integration process. It may also include a call on the United States — a warning to the United States — to tackle the drug trafficking problem in a comprehensive manner.

Regarding this problem that directly affects the three Andean countries that produce coca leaves, the document proposes a combined effort against drugs based on the shared responsibility principle.

Radio Programas had access to the draft of the final document now being drafted and which will be reviewed by the chiefs of state during the first session of the summit scheduled for this evening in the Cisneros building.

The Trujillo Act will allegedly approve the presidential guidelines, especially the Cartagena Agreement Reform Protocol, through which the Andean Integration System is created with its new legal framework for the functioning of the Andean Pact.

The draft of the final act states that the presidents noted the need to continue stepping up subregional integration to make it more efficient so that it may fulfill its objective of promoting economic and social development and for which it is necessary to implement mechanisms and tools that will promote and regulate the Andean integration process.

### Inter-American Affairs: Andean Pact's Trujillo Act Viewed

*PY1003005396 Lima Radio Programas del Peru Network in Spanish 2329 GMT 9 Mar 96*

[Live relay by correspondents Miguel Humberto Aguirre, Juan Bejarano, and Adela Ciencia from Trujillo, Peru]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Aguirre] Good afternoon, Peru. We wish to disclose some details of what will happen tomorrow. Right now we can disclose details of some of the agreements that may be reached and that are almost ready after the meetings held by the foreign ministers. These drafts will be reviewed by the presidents in a few minutes.

The Andean Presidential Council, comprised by Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela, will allegedly approve without much delay or changes the Cartagena Agreement Reform Protocol, a sort of second birth certificate for what is known as the Andean Pact.

This reform entails a new legal framework that responds to the challenges of a globalized world economy and a more appropriate conception of the subregional integration process. The reorganization of the pact's structure is taking place after 27 years of the Cartagena Agreement institutional life. The subregional integration process of this institution has been marked by serious difficulties.

The new political reform of the pact arrives almost in time and at a time in which its technical organ is about to collapse due to the lack of resources.

Something new in Cartagena Agreement's legal framework is the creation of the General Secretariat, which will play the role of a community executive organ and that will act, according to the draft, on the bases of the subregion's interests. There will be a general secretary who will be based in Lima and will be elected, by consensus, among high representative personalities who enjoy national prestige in one of the member countries. The Andean Integration System will comprise the Andean Presidential Council, the Andean Foreign Ministers Council, the Cartagena Agreement Commission, the Cartagena Agreement General Secretariat, the Cartagena Agreement Court of Justice, the Andean Parliament, the Entrepreneur Consultation Council, the Labor Consultation Council, the Andean Development Corporation, the Latin American Reserves Fund.

This is still off-the-record [preceding hyphenated word in English] information which Radio Programas del Peru broadcasts in an exclusive manner at this time, when the dialogue between the presidents is about to begin.

[Bejarano] Another of the subjects allegedly being discussed by the foreign ministers currently meeting at the Cisneros Building, here in Trujillo, is the Trujillo Act to be signed tomorrow by the Andean presidents. [passage on covered material omitted]

The preamble of the draft act states that the Andean presidents are determined to consolidate and promote closer cooperation ties through the opening of their respective markets, the strengthening of their democracies, the eradication of poverty, the preservation of the environment, sustainable development, and the coordination of stances in various international negotiation forums.

The document also calls upon the United States to contemplate the expansion of the Act on the Preferential Trade Area for Andean Countries as an integral part of the solution to the drug problem, which entails more than just enforcement.

In a last paragraph the Trujillo Act also refers to subjects related to terrorism, regarding which they will adopt measures to prevent, sanction, and eliminate any form of terrorism at a national and international level. [passage omitted]

[Ciencia] The following is tomorrow's schedule of activities of the Eighth Ordinary Meeting of the International Press Center:

The activities will start tomorrow with a news conference by Colombian President Ernesto Samper Pizano at 0900 [1400 GMT] at the Conference Hall of the International Press Center located in the main building of the Trujillo National University.

The second working session of the Eighth Ordinary Meeting of the Andean Presidential Council will start at 1000 in the Cisneros Building, located in Trujillo main square.

The third working session of the Eighth Ordinary Meeting of the Andean Presidential Council will be held at 1600, also in the Cisneros Building.

The closing session will be held at 1830 [2330 GMT] in the Trujillo National University assembly hall.

At 1900 [0000 GMT 11 March] the chiefs of state will hold a news conference at the conference hall of the International Press Center.

## Inter-American Affairs: Trujillo Act Said To Support Colombia

*PA1003042096 Madrid EFE in Spanish*
*0106 GMT 10 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Trujillo (Peru), 9 Mar (EFE) — The "Trujillo Act" that Andean Pact presidents will approve Sunday in this Peruvian city, contains a veiled support for Colombia in the face of the U.S. "decertification" that its antidrug strategy has suffered.

The draft document, which EFE had access to today, urges the United States, "as an integral part of the solution" to the drug trafficking problem, "to take into account the broadening and deepening of the regime called the Act of Andean Trade Preferences" and adds "including all countries in the subregion."

The "decertification" of Colombia includes an economic and trade blockade by the United States to that Andean country.

The draft of the Trujillo Act consists of a preamble and 20 points, of which the first establishes the creation of the Andean Integration System (SAI) as the new legal framework for the Andean Pact, comprising Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela, and Peru.

In regard to the point dealing with drug trafficking, the Andean presidents ratified their "commitment" to "tighten existing links of cooperation" between their countries and insist on the need to "develop a concerted struggle in the face of the drug problem on the basis of the principle of shared responsibility."

The presidents, meeting in Trujillo "welcome the important cooperation boost between Andean countries and the EU and highlight "the relevance of the Agreement Regarding Control of Precursors and Narcotic Substances" signed in Madrid in December.

With respect to the corruption issue, the "Trujillo Act" highlights that "the eradication" of this severe problem" is not only the main responsibility of each state but corresponds, in addition, to joint actions through international cooperation and mutual assistance in the struggle against that illegal activity."

The Andean presidents "decidedly support the holding of a Special Conference, to take place this month in Caracas, to approve a project related to an Inter-American Convention against Corruption."

In the point related to "the struggle against poverty," the Andean heads of state "agree on the need to direct their efforts and policies to the task of overcoming the fundamental causes of poverty, as well as to satisfy the basic needs of the population."

With respect to "democracy and the rights of the individual," the draft of the final document of the Trujillo presidential summit expresses the disposition of its signatories to "strengthen all democratic institutions" and "guarantee respect for the rights of the individual" in their respective countries.

In regard to the issue of terrorism, the heads of the Andean states "committed themselves to carry out efforts directed at the adoption of bilateral, regional, and international measures to prevent, penalize, and eliminate terrorism in all its forms, in accordance with international legal guidelines and principles.

The Trujillo Act dedicates several of its points to Andean integration and to the Andean Pact's relations with other economic blocs. In this regard it expresses "much appreciation for the support offered by the European Union Commission to the institutional development of the Andean Integration System."

The Andean chiefs of state also made "an appeal so that Andean negotiations with the Common Market of the South (composed of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay) may proceed in such a fashion that traditional economic and commerical ties between the states of the two subregional integration systems may increase substantially" in "the framework of open regionalism."

A draft of this document was completed today in Trujillo, 561 km north of Lima, by the foreign ministers of the Andean Pact and delivered to their presidents for their review and signature.

Panamanian President Ernesto Perez Balladares is participating as guest in the presidential summit in Trujillo, which began today and will conclude Sunday. Panama has expressed a desire to eventually join the Andean Pact as a full-rights member.

Venezuelan President Rafael Caldera suspended his participation at the last moment and delegated Venezuelan Foreign Minister Miguel Angel Burelli to represent him.

## Inter-American Affairs: Draft of Trujillo Act Detailed

*PY1003021596 Madrid EFE in Spanish*
*0106 GMT 10 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In the point of the Trujillo Act referring to drug trafficking, the Andean presidents confirm their "commitment" to "tighten the cooperation links" between their countries and insist on the need "to develop a coordinated struggle against drug trafficking based on the shared responsibility principle."

The presidents meeting in Trujillo "praise the significant impetus taken by the cooperation between Andean countries and the EU and, concretely note "the importance of the Agreement on the Control of Precursors and Psychotropic Substances" signed in December in Madrid.

Regarding corruption, the "Trujillo Act" notes that "the eradication" of this problem "is not only the main responsibility of each state but that it also requires a joint action through international cooperation and mutual assistance in the struggle against this criminal activity."

The Andean countries "decidedly support the holding of the Specialized Conference to approve the Inter-American Draft Convention to Fight Corruption [Projecto de Convencion Interamericana Contra la Corrupcion]" to be held this month in Caracas.

In the point referring to "the struggle against poverty" the Andean chiefs of state "agree on the need to channel their efforts and policies towards the task of overcoming the main causes of poverty, as well as to meet the basic needs of their people."

As for "democracy and human rights," the draft of the final document of the presidential summit in Trujillo voices the presidents' will to "strengthen democratic institutions" and "guarantee the respect for human rights" in their respective countries.

Regarding terrorism, the Andean chiefs of state "promise to carry out efforts designed to adopt measures at a bilateral, regional, and international level to prevent, sanction, and eliminate any form of terrorism, in compliance with international norms and law."

The "Trujillo Act" devotes various of its points to the Andean integration subject and its relationship with other economic blocs and in this sense voices "great appreciation for the support granted by the European Union Commission to the institutional development of the Andean Integration System.

The Andean chiefs of state also make "an appeal for the Andean negotiations with Mercosur [Common Market of the South] (comprised by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay), to develop in a way that the traditional economic-commercial ties between the states of the two subregional integration organizations may grow substantially" within "the framework of an open regionalism."

The drafting of this document concluded today in Trujillo, 561 km north of Lima, by the foreign ministers of the Andean Pact and was handed over to their respective presidents who will review and sign it.

Panamanian President Ernesto Perez Balladares is attending the summit in Trujillo, which started today and will end tomorrow, as a guest because his country has expressed interest in becoming a full member of the Andean Pact in the future.

Venezuelan President Rafael Caldera at the last minute suspended his participation and sent his foreign minister, Miguel Angel Burelli, in his place.

### Inter-American Affairs: Trujillo Section on Drugs Viewed

*PY1003200296 Lima Radio Programas del Peru Network in Spanish 1856 GMT 10 Mar 96*

[Live relay by Miguel Humberto Aguirre from Trujillo, Peru]

[FBIS Translated Text] I would like to anticipate exclusive information. The presidents of Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru; the Venezuelan foreign minister; and the Panamanian president, who is attending the summit as an observer, meeting on 9 and 10 March in Trujillo for the Eighth Andean Presidential Council Summit, have already evaluated the Act of Trujillo.

I would like to anticipate the most important paragraph as exclusive information. They confirmed the commitment made during the Seventh Andean Presidential Council Summit to strengthen the links of cooperation between the countries of the sub-Andean region for the purpose of developing common policies and actions to promote rapprochement toward other countries. They also confirmed the commitment to develop policies and regional groups with the purpose of carrying out a concerted and overall struggle against crimes related to drugs and illegal substances, including their production, distribution, and consumption; money laundering; the deviation of precursors; and illegal trafficking in light weapons, which are used by criminal organizations linked to drug trafficking.

Upon corroborating the progress and success obtained in all the Andean countries without exception in the struggle against drugs, but aware that this struggle must continue with energy and decision, they affirm that this struggle can only be carried out on the basis of shared responsibility by all the countries involved, and the strict respect for international law. They also affirm that there should be no interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

It should be pointed out here that there is a paragraph proposed by Colombia which says: In this regard, it considers that any unilateral evaluation on this issue, especially through the process known as decertification, which is based on internal laws that cannot be implemented internationally, is inappropriate. Being aware of the need to unify criteria on the struggle against drugs and related crimes, they decided to create a high-level coordinating operational group to be made up of the officials responsible for the struggle against drugs in each of the Andean countries.

This is the most important point to be approved in a few minutes, and a point this radio station is anticipating as exclusive news.

### Inter-American Affairs: Andean 'Firm Support' for Colombia

*PY1003224496 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2103 GMT 10 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Trujillo, 10 Mar (EFE) — The Eighth Andean Presidential Council Summit concluded today, 10 March, in the Peruvian town of Trujillo with a declaration of firm support for Colombia in view of the U.S. "decertification" the Colombian antidrug fight has suffered.

In the "Trujillo Act," which mentions the drug trafficking problem, the presidents of Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, and Peru stated that "according to international law, they consider inappropriate, and do not recognize the binding effects of, any unilateral evaluation based on domestic laws that a country might make about policies of another country on this matter," a direct reference to the United States.

The fight against drug traffickers "must continue with energy and decision," and this struggle can be carried out only on the basis of a shared responsibility, the strictest respect for international law, and the absence of meddling in domestic affairs of another country," the final document of the summit states.

Drug trafficking is the most sensitive and controversial issue in relations between Andean nations that are producers of coca and the United States, the leading world consumer of cocaine and the greatest money-laundering center in the world.

Concerning democracy and human rights, the political declaration signed by the five presidents states that this political system is the "best guarantee of the state of law, the citizens' participation, respect for human rights, and safeguard for cultural diversity."

Thus, they agreed "to continue strengthening the democratic institutions for the achievement of stability, peace, and development."

They also reaffirmed that the fight against corruption is the first responsibility of each state," but that it must be supplemented with a joint action through international cooperation and mutual assistance."

They also affirmed "their determination to adopt cooperation measures to prevent, punish, and eliminate national and international terrorism in all its forms, in accordance with the rules and principles of international law."

The presidents also praised the strengthening of relations between the Andean Group and the European Union, and supported "the development of the "Free Trade Area of the Americas, convinced that the progressive liberalization of trade of goods and services will contribute toward reaching growth levels according to the development expectations of all countries of the hemisphere."

Within the framework of the "Trujillo Act," the presidents who met in this northern Peruvian town approved the protocol that modifies the Cartagena Agreement, through which the group will be reformed and replaced by a new Andean Integration System [Sistema Andino de Integracion] (SAI).

The presidents agreed that the next Andean presidential summit will be held in Bolivia, the country which, as of tomorrow, will assume the group's pro tempore secretariat, now to be called Andean Integration System (SAI).

The Andean presidents are scheduled to hold a news conference late in the afternoon during which they will explain the results of the meeting in Trujillo.

The presidents of Bolivia, Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada; Colombia, Ernesto Samper; Ecuador, Sixto Duran-Ballen; and Peru, Alberto Fujimori, participated in the Trujillo summit.

Venezuelan President Rafael Caldera had suspended his participation and was represented by Foreign Minister Miguel Angel Burelli, while Panamanian President Ernesto Perez Balladares participated as a guest, because his country has announced its possible inclusion in the group.

### Inter-American Affairs: Fujimori Closes Andean Summit

*PY1103025196 Lima Radio Programas del Peru Network in Spanish 2330 GMT 10 Mar 96*

[Speech by Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori at the ceremony closing the Eighth Andean Presidential Council Summit, held at the University of Trujillo in Trujillo, Peru — live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Illustrious Presidents of Bolivia, Doctor Gozalo Sanchez de Lozada; of Colombia, Doctor Ernesto Samper Pizano; of Ecuador, Architect Sixto Duran-Ballen; and of Panama, Doctor Ernesto Perez Balladares. Your Excellency Mister Official Representative of the President of the Republic of Venezuela, Doctor Miguel Angel Burelli. Ladies and gentlemen:

During this most important Trujillo summit which ends today, friendship, realism, and a decisive political willingness have prevailed. This has allowed us to set the groundwork for a new Andean institutional system, facing the great challenges imposed on us by the international situation.

This Eighth Andean Presidential Council Summit thus ends, opening the doors of the future, summoning the states, but also the civilian societies in each of our countries, to the urgent task of forging a real integration, an integration that, progressively, will positively change the lives of our peoples. Integration presupposes not only articulating our national development plans but also sets the groundwork for our future efforts on the basis of an authentic, possible, and viable existence. For this reason, we have agreed on taking a great step forward by creating an entity superior to the Andean Group: The Andean Community.

The Andean Community is the expression of a decisive desire on the part of our governments to not only be economically and commercially integrated, but politically integrated as well.

This new Andean regional institutional system has acquired this more important political component precisely to accelerate economic integration and, in general, to provide greater flexibility to the community. We have assumed a new commitment to qualitative change within the integration process.

A reflection of all this is the Council of Foreign Ministers, an organization that will lead the political voice. With this same purpose and intention, an organization of the Andean Community is created, which is the Andean Community Commission, made up of one plenipotentiary representative for each of the member countries.

Having one plenipotentiary representative who will take the position of each country on several matters will also allow us to make quick decisions in a consistent manner so as to continue progressing.

In this context, it has also been proposed that, within a five- year period, the Andean Parliament be established, this time elected directly by the peoples of the subregion.

Thus, the Cartagena Agreement Board is hereby eliminated. The technical implementation will fall upon the general secretariat, which is also headquartered in Lima. The secretary general of the Andean Community will be elected by the council of foreign ministers of the Andean countries. The secretary general will play the role of the executive branch in controversial matters between countries, following consultations with experts on these matters.

The issues of debureaucratization and the rational use of resources should not be avoided, and for this reason we have proposed a reasonable use of resources provided by the Andean partners. These quotas will grant the right to vote.

Negotiations have been tough, so tough that at a given point I had to ask that the bells be rung so that we could feel a greater degree of solidarity and unity to reach a happy agreement. The agreement has come, and I believe it is satisfactory for all.

As I had said in the opening speech, the speed of the process will now depend on the boldness of all. And as far as we are concerned, we are resolutely firm in our decision to strengthen our reforms, seeking social change at both the national and regional levels. The more our economies and our institutions in general move away from a perspective opposed to development and modernization, the more we will progress.

The dynamic action of the future Andean Community will depend on each one of us, on our willingness to turn it into a real organization and not only into a mere name. Thus, in addition to the restructuring, we must consider as priority the need to make macroeconomic and trade policies more compatible, that is, to move away from tariff dispersion and multiple exceptions and toward decisively seeking a common foreign tariff.

Peru could move its tariff policy downward, and we could expect identical flexibility from our partners concerning top tariff levels.

By the end of this century, programs such as those of the European Community will be a powerful reality. None of us is unaware of the long path that had to be taken to attain this experience. There existed fear, distrust, and suspicion, which were overcome with perseverance. We, the Andean countries, must learn from those lessons and take timely shortcuts. We hope these experiences from other continents will serve us as examples.

I am convinced, then, that this relaunching of the Andean Group under a new name, with a different and superior content, will be successful.

I do not want to end this speech without mentioning legitimate pride, as president of Peru, in the expressions of cordiality and friendship the people of this noble city have accorded each of the Andean presidents.

Your Excellencies Messrs. Presidents, with a great satisfaction over the results attained during this Eighth Andean Presidential Council Summit, I declare the summit closed. Thank you. [applause]

## Inter-American Affairs: Protocol on 'Andean Community'

*PY1103033396 Lima Radio Programas del Peru Network in Spanish 2338 GMT 10 Mar 96*

["Reform Protocol of the Cartagena Agreement," read by unidentified individual during closing ceremony of the Eighth Andean Presidential Council Summit held at the University of Trujillo in Trujillo, Peru — live]

[FBIS Translated Text] 1. The Andean Community is created. This is the expression of the new stage of the subregional integration agreement.

2. The Andean Integration System is established to clearly show that the Andean Community is an overall project for integration, which goes beyond the economic and commercial aspects.

3. The political leadership at the highest level is institutionalized with the incorporation into the juridical framework of the Andean Presidential Council, which will be assisted by the Andean Council of Foreign Ministers in coordination with the work of the Andean Integration System as a whole.

4. The economic issues are open to the joint participation of all the sectors that make up the national governments with the institutionalization of the enlarged meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers, and the enlarged commission.

5. The Cartagena Agreement Board is transformed into the General Secretariat to ensure more efficient and flexible management.

6. The most active participation of the business sectors in general and of the civilian society of each member country is sought with the incorporation of the social agreements, the business and labor consultative boards, and, in particular, the desire that the representatives before the Andean Parliament be chosen in direct elections.

## Inter-American Affairs: Duran-Ballen at Andean Closing

*PY1103032596 Lima Radio Programas del Peru Network in Spanish 2347 GMT 10 Mar 96*

[Speech by Ecuadoran President Sixto Duran-Ballen at the ceremony closing the Eighth Andean Presidential Council Summit, held at the University of Trujillo in Trujillo, Peru — live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. President of the Republic of Peru, Messrs. Presidents, Mr. Representative of the President of Venezuela, Messrs. Foreign Ministers and Government Officials, ladies and gentlemen:

I have two reasons for requesting of His Excellency the opportunity to say a few words. The first is to say farewell to the old Andean Pact, which is today called the Andean Community. This is the last occasion on which I will be present at these deliberations, due to the fact that my term in office will end. I will be present with you in the work process that might take place during the period when Peru will be charged with the conduct of the Permanent Secretariat, and I will also be with the president of Bolivia when we meet again in his country.

As a citizen of the Americas, as a man who participated in the initial process of Latin American integration some 40 years ago, I also want to feel bound to the activities which you, Messrs. Presidents, will carry out.

The second reason for my request to briefly take the floor is to express, through you, Mr. President, to the Government of Peru, to the people of Peru, and to the people and officials of Trujillo our gratitude for the warm welcome with which our delegation was received, the delegation of my country, the Republic of Ecuador, which I have the honor to head.

With those numerous handshakes I have received from many of you, and those from many people on the streets and plazas of the city, with the many smiles and many other expressions conveyed to me, I have also felt the desire of the people of Peru, a desire which is no different than that of the people of Ecuador. In this happy reunion here, Mr. President, in this land which is as much ours as yours, in this land where the image of Simon Bolivar is no more or less admired than in our own country, in this land where our forefathers fulfilled the task of attaining independence, we want to keep striving for that independence in the economic and social areas, an independence which, as more than one president has said, we still lack. Not only will the reunion of Latin America begin here today with this new Andean Community we have created, but, in paraticular, of the group of Andean countries. Through the dialogue that our foreign ministers and the people who will represent our two countries will conduct, we will find, Mr. President, the path that will lead us to the definitive peace the entire continent wants us to achieve. Thank you. [applause]

### Inter-American Affairs: Peru, Bolivia on Drug Issue

*PY1103030796 Lima Radio Programas del Peru Network in Spanish 0003 GMT 11 Mar 96*

[News conference by Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori and Bolivian President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada with foreign and domestic reporters and a moderator to mark the closing of the Eighth Andean Presidential Council Summit, from the University of Trujillo's Cesar Vallejo Hall in Trujillo, Peru — live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Unidentified reporter] [words indistinct] more specifically as a result of the situation of Colombia and President Samper. I would like to know more details regarding the treatment of this issue.

[Fujimori] This issue was mentioned in the declaration; this is routine in nearly all international forums, and this occasion was no exception. This issue was mentioned by reiterating the political decision to struggle against drug trafficking. Naturally, on this ocassion the issue of certification, decertification or conditional certification was also included in the debate. This issue was indirectly mentioned because unilaterally no country has the right to evaluate the conduct of another sovereign country. This is the position taken by the presidential summit.

[Sanchez de Lozada] I believe it is important to emphasize the positive part of this agreement because we believe we can help each other as a result of all the things we have. We also share the responsibility of preventing the scourge of drug trafficking. It is our responsibility before our peoples and before humanity to struggle effectively against this problem. And we can do it by sharing experiencies and by helping each other out. It was also proposed, reflecting a very generous offer on the part of the Panamanian president, that we create, in Panama, an integrating organization that would allow us to face this problem by exchanging experiences and also by creating initiatives for the new Andean Community and for the benefit of all humanity. [passage omitted]

### Inter-American Affairs: Rio Group Rejects Helms-Burton Bill

*PA1003010496 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 0551 GMT 9 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Mexico City, 8 Mar (NOTIMEX) — The Rio Group today rejected the U.S. initiative known as Helms-Burton, which intends to toughen the economic blockade against Cuba.

Members of this mechanism for Latin American consultation, stated in a declaration that this initiative violates the principles of international law, and the UN and OAS charters.

Likewise, it added, it violates the World Trade Organization, and is contrary to the spirit of hemispheric friendship and cooperation.

This week the U.S. Congress approved the law initiative for Liberty and Democratic Solidarity in Cuba and sent it to President William Clinton for promulgation.

Clinton has said that he will sign it despite the opposition of several Latin American countries, including North American U.S. trade partners.

The Rio Group comprises Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela, as well as a representative from the Caribbean and another from Central America.

The Rio declaration expressed its concern over the effect of the initiative, which "ignores the fundamental principle of respect for the sovereignty of states, and executing it means an extraterritorial application of domestic law."

The U.S. Congress and Government decided to activate the draft bill that hardens the unilateral three-decade-old embargo against Cuba.

With this initiative, Washington intends to punish Cuba for the downing two weeks ago of two small airplanes with pilots belonging to the "Brothers to the Rescue" anti-Castro group.

The White House says that the aircraft were downed in international waters, while Havana claims it took place within Cuban territorial waters when its territorial sovereignty was violated.

### Inter-American Affairs: No Agreement in Chile-Mercosur Talks

*PY0803151096 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1118 GMT 2 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Buenos Aires, 2 Mar (NA) — The efforts to incorporate Chile into Mercosur [Common Market of the South] have experienced a new setback. Negotiators of the four common market member countries and Chile failed to produce an agreement after four days of intense negotiations.

International Economic Relations Secretary Jorge Campbell said he trusts an agreement will be reached "before the end of March," although he admitted that the objective "will not be easy to achieve."

The Foreign Ministry official said that negotiations will resume in Buenos Aires on 12 and 13 March.

The Chilean delegation carried out four days of intense negotiations that lasted almost 10 hours every day.

Campbell and Foreign Trade Under Secretary Alejandro Mayoral headed the Argentine delegation. The Chilean delegation was presided over by International Economic Relations Director Carlos Mladinic.

"We have a lot of hopes. We expect to continue making progress and we hope to reach an agreement before the end of March; that is our goal," Campbell reiterated to journalists accredited to the Economy Ministry.

Campbell recognized that "many points" are still pending, characterizing the agreement with Chile as "complex."

Campbell explained that "when we get close to an agreement on one point we put it aside and start discussing another point because we are looking for a global agreement."

The foreign trade official said that there is an agreement, within the context of a global framework, to have trade without restrictions between Chile and Mercosur in 15 years.

Campbell said "it would be unwise" to say that there will be an agreement during the next round of negotiations, adding that he prefers to wait until 30 March to announce it.

Campbell evaluated the negotiations, saying that "everybody agreed — Mercosur member country representatives as well as Chilean representatives — that we have made progress. It was good to make the effort, and we will meet again in a week and a half with the same enthusiasm."

Campbell acknowledged that "there are always difficulties" in this type of negotiations, adding: "That is good because it means that we are all interested in the agreement."

"An easy agreement would have meant that no one was interested because many things are at stake. It is good to have hurdles," the official said.

## Cuba

### Cuba: ANPP Reported To Increase Financial Claims on U.S.

*PA0903014396 Havana PRENSA LATINA in Spanish 2358 GMT 8 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Havana, 8 Mar (PL) — A high-ranking member of the National Assembly of the People's Government [ANPP] reported today that the Cuban parliament will include in its claim against the United States the state assets taken to that country prior to 1959.

This decision is in response to the Helms-Burton Law, which even harbors the "henchmen" (paid assassins under Fulgencio Batista's tyranny) who fled Cuba to the United States with all of Cuba's money, Lazaro Barredo said in a news conference. Barredo is vice president of the ANPP's foreign relations commission.

One of the articles of the Helms-Burton Law includes a list of U.S. properties confiscated by the revolution. All are nationalized properties worth more than $50,000 that were abandoned by naturalized U.S. citizens prior to next Tuesday's presidential approval of the Helms-Burton Bill.

Thus, Barredo said, the U.S. Government also has the obligation to answer for the theft from public coffers by former Cuban officials, who deposited those funds in U.S. banks.

According to calculations by local academics, the detrimental effect of the U.S. blockade against Cuba, in force since 1962, amounts to more than $43 billion, which will now increase with the assets that were transferred to that country between 1952 to 1958.

Barredo, who did not give any estimates, provided assurances that this initiative emerged following more than 100 public hearings on the U.S. legislative bill held on the island last year.

Likewise, the commission will call on all the world's parliaments to condemn the Helms-Burton Law.

According to worldwide generalized criticism, the bill includes dangerous legal precedents that subordinate international law to U.S. interests, and more in particular, to a small group of ultra-right Cuban-Americans based in Florida.

The ANPP document describes the Helms-Burton Law as a nightmare for the U.S. administration, because it intends to control the activities of entrepreneurs from more than 100 countries that have relations with Havana.

The Helms-Burton Law provides that all people with direct or indirect links to nationalized properties belonging to U.S. citizens will be unable to enter the United States. And, U.S. courts will be able to confiscate their assets held inside U.S. territory.

### Cuba: Robaina Reviews UN Plenary Session on Downing

*PA0903055196 Havana Radio and Television Networks in Spanish 0130 GMT 9 Mar 96*

[News conference by Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina with moderator Hector Rodriguez, Nidia Diaz, of the newspaper GRANMA, Irma Caceres, of Tele Rebelde Network, Javier Rodriguez, of PRENSA LATINA, and Osvaldo Rodriguez, of Radio Rebelde Network, in Havana — live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Rodriguez] As announced, we have with us Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina, to whom we extend a warm welcome. Good evening, Mr. Minister.

[Robaina] Good evening, Hector.

[Rodriguez] I will now introduce the panel of journalists. From left to right, we have Comrade Nidia Diaz, of the newspaper GRANMA, Irma Caceres, of the television newscast, Javier Rodriguez, of PRENSA LATINA, and Oswaldo Rodriguez, of Radio Rebelde Network. Now that the panel members have been introduced, let us get down to business. Comrade Nidia.

[Diaz] Via television, we all have observed the development of the plenary session of the UN General Assembly where Cuba has presented the truth of the 24 February incident and the antecedents that led to it. We have observed the U.S. delegates' isolation and the evidence of the support offered to you. Because you were present at the time, we would like you to tell us whether there were any details that the camera missed and that Cuban television viewers could not watch.

[Caceres] Hector?

[Rodriguez] Yes.

[Caceres] I would like to comment on the same subject. Sometimes more decisions are made, matters are discussed, and conspiracies are plotted in UN halls or lobbies. In this regard, how was the atmosphere and these internal matters at your arrival? Could you give us some information?

[Robaina] First, I would like to thank in particular Cuban television and all of you who have provided a special opportunity to provide details that cannot be fully assessed because of the intensity of the moment.

Many questions arose about this subject since the beginning of the events. I think it is necessary to assess the isolation to which you have referred, which the people had to opportunity to observe, and which we appreciated very personally. It would be necessary to observe the antecedents of this isolation.

All the individuals who were there and developed this work together have agreed that the positions and atmosphere at the United Nations changed substantially as soon as the impact of the news presented by the North American delegation—the press expanded on that news—was felt. Cuba gradually presented its own arguments, telling its own truth. As you know, I joined our delegation's efforts when the resolution was being worked on, a few hours before the text of the resolution was approved after midnight.

As I said in my speech, the resolution was not what the United States initially wanted it to be, thanks to the work of several Security Council members. Nevertheless, I think it is. [sentence as heard] I think there are many details that speak of the loneliness of the empire, so to speak, and the very powerful image of the lady ambassador leaving the room without anyone asking anything or wishing to talk about any specific subject. This contrasts greatly with everything, first, with the silence provoked by her own reply. I would say that before the silence that followed her own reply, the contrast had to do with the way Cuba expressed its truth and the way this truth was listened to.

I would say that you perhaps could have observed something better than us. In turn, we could expand on certain things. What Cuba has tried to defend in a scenario such as this is the idea that what is done to Cuba today could be done to any other country in the hemisphere.

I would say there were constant expressions of gratitude, what some have called silent solidarity, which included applause during the speech, during the response, and there were many people who approached Cuba's seat and who approached us in the hallways to state their gratitude to Cuba because Cuba stated publicly at that podium what they would like to say but cannot possibly say.

I would say that the precedent of challenging and compelling the assembly to resume its true functions and to challenge the Security Council was something that has caused a great impact. Even though we had previously held meetings with regional groups during which the Cuban party presented various arguments, the entire world waited for the presentation of Cuba's truth and evidence although Cuba had not requested it. Cuba never asked the United Nations—and it is important that this point be clear—that the assembly be sworn in and that the assembly adopt the resolution. Cuba simply requested the opportunity to be heard so there would not be only one version of the problem, manipulated and politicized, as you well know, at the international level; therefore, I believe that what we most received there during the session and after, not only in the meeting with participants but in a prolonged meeting with the media, we might add, was gratitude because Cuba stated its viewpoint. We asked no one if they shared it or not, but we did notice much respect for stating it so strongly, and we noticed much respect for the fact that we challenged the United States.

I believe there is something that the reply.... [pauses] Perhaps the swiftness with which it happened did not allow you to notice it, but, if you noticed, the U.S. ambassador used her right to respond and read a document in which she reportedly responded to something she had yet to hear; in other words, the United States' arrogance was evident at that podium. They really believe they came to this world only to question rather than to answer. Those are the things we were able to prove at that moment.

Now, then, there were many expressions of gratitude in the hallways. Just as Irma said, there are many people who would like to vote one way at this forum but, unfortunately, they have to state their views differently, given the many pressures exerted on them in the economic and political sector; therefore, it is rightfully said that what is discussed in the assembly's hallways is much more important than what is discussed at the assembly.

I would say that if there is anything they would thank Cuba for at this time it is the fact that Cuba broached such a strong topic, apparently such a controversial one, and, according to the campaign, with all the community against us. Cuba was capable of bringing it to that forum, explaining its truth, receiving that support. I believe therein lies the impact of what happened yesterday.

[Caceres] Thank you.

[J. Rodriguez] Aside from this, the truth is that the United States was unable to reach an agreement as it wanted at the Security Council, and it was unable to reach it at the ICAO [International Civil Aviation Organization]; in other words, that is also part of the failure in the conspiracy you mentioned, no?

[Robaina] Yes, I believe you must see things from various perspectives. There was an attempt to create a plot, we would say, at various forums and not only in various forums, given the exaggerated diligence with which the Security Council has tried to act. They have also tried to accelerate the process in such a way that they would have the condemnation in their hands, without thinking the country would dare do what it dared to do and, I would say, even without thinking the community would support the country as a member state that with all the rights a member state has in the United Nations to resort to actions that may not have been done on other occasions above all because they had not been done against the UN Security Council's criterion and against who presided over the Security Council.

True, they did not get what they wanted; nevertheless, I want to analyze, as objectively as we can, everything we have seen. We must not think this is over. In my opinion, we are in the first part, or perhaps a complicated part, of an escalation that has yet to end. It has yet to end because, as the media have reported, it is part of the maneuver that was carried out at the ICAO—Alarcon may have the opportunity to explain this in due time—and the United Nations. It is part of a larger conspiracy which strives to get the most out of an issue such as this, amid an electoral campaign, a ferocious electoral campaign. We have strongly replied to this. I would say that if elections in the United States were like the sugarcane harvest and the school year, that is, with the criteria that they are held on an annual basis, the world would have gone crazy, because the United States wants the world to get accustomed to the fact that every time there are elections in the United States, the whole world must bow to the elections. We must, therefore, consider that the campaign has barely started. The campaign has barely started and, aside from this, it has always been a ferocious campaign, and life has shown it began at a very high level.

Evidently, this conspiracy between the Cuban-American right with the most conservative groups that dispute the campaign has tried to put the Cuba issue at center stage, on which we seldom state our views, and make us part of that electoral life, which we do not really share.

That is why I would say we should be prepared for new forums of discussion. We should be prepared for new maneuvers they may launch at the United Nations, from the United States, or even in Geneva; that is why it is important that our people feel they have many arguments at their disposal. I would say we must defend this position not only at the United Nations. Each Cuban must defend this position before any tourist who visits us. Each Cuban must defend this position in any forum of discussion.

Truth is on our side, and I would say the Cuban truth broke that conspiracy; it has broken it for the time being. Evidently, new provocations will come, and in the face of the provocations, Cuba will have to take action and will take action as we always have—with the truth on our side and with the firm conviction of what we defend.

[J. Rodriguez] I have here the latest news dispatches by PRENSA LATINA. These dispatches are on statements by the leader of the organization that violated Cuban airspace. First, in a news conference held at the UN Headquarters and in an article published by a Miami newspaper today, he said his organization will continue its incursions over Cuban airspace; in other words, not only does he recognize these violations, but he also says they will continue in the future, adding this is an option that will always be present. These were his exact words, according to news dispatches from AFP, the EFE news agency, and REUTER. In other words, these statements are reported by a series of news agency from the United States. This is perhaps evidence of what you are saying.

[Robaina] To this we must add the following: No matter how tough the threats are, those making these threats must know that threats have never changed the positions of principle Cuba defends. We received many threats of all kinds this week. You are even aware of the provocations that were announced for 2 March, and, together with the provocations, we also know the measures that were taken.

The country announced if this provocation was carried out, Cuba would act with moderation, but in view of threats of this kind, which is also part of the orchestrated campaign, the fact of taking him to the UN building, the fact of preparing this scenario, the fact of allowing the continuation of provocations of this kind.... [pauses] We have become accustomed to living under threats for more than 37 years, and the country does not decide its actions based on threats, much less when they come from people who have, in our eyes and those of the world, a history such as the history of this person. He heads an organization that has become famous in the world for one name, but we can identify it perfectly. They are some kind of recruiter pirates and, as such, act in a certain way.

They will continue to use this language. We usually do not respond to hysteria or aggressive language. We usually do not respond to threats. Actions of this kind only serve to affirm our position. We will not change our airspace, sovereignty, or the right Cubans have to protect and guard this sovereignty, which is sacred for Cubans, regardless of their tone and threats and regardless of the support they may get for making threats.

We trust that if they do decide to go out to fly, they will not change their flight plan as they have done in the past.

We trust that measures can be taken even though these threats exist. We must continue reporting this activity to the community. Their campaign has been so strong that we are still asked what we think about what was done, and there is a very important reasoning. The only ones who have been provoked are us. The only ones who continue to be threatened are us; therefore, we cannot act with moderation, but we can act with moderation as long as what Cubans consider sacred is not violated.

Regarding the violation of the airspace, Cuba has not changed its decision to defend it with all resources at hand. One of these resources is to denounce beforehand what is being proposed in that territory. This person is making statements from a country, in a forum, and from a place he must exit. We would have to see whether authorities allow him to perpetrate this type of violation; therefore, I would say we should not worry much about what the Cuban response will be.

Before the Cuban response is given, there must be a response from the United States. If a U.S. response exists, we can then consider a moderate Cuban response, but what they cannot ask from us is that we anticipate our answer when they are already planning or we are threatened with actions. We must first see whether these actions will be permitted. The first measures will not be taken in Cuba; the first measures must be made at the place where the events take place, from where provocations come, and that is what they should consider.

[Rodriguez] Osvaldo Rodriguez, of Radio Rebelde Network.

[O. Rodriguez] I would like to go back to the diplomatic battle that just took place at the United Nations. As you have said, the chapter on all the confrontations that have started again with the United States has just begun. Certain news agencies on 6 March reported on the U.S. failures: first, at the Security Council for being unable to impose its resolve and then the day the United Nations held its national, I mean, General Assembly in which it was also unable to play a starring role. These agencies stated that this constitutes its largest defeat in the aftermath of the end of the Cold War, the largest U.S. defeat in the aftermath of the end of the Cold War. What is your opinion on these categorical statements?

[Robaina] One respects a great deal the opinions that may be given, especially those of the media and the diplomatic sector itself. In the particular case of us at the Foreign Ministry, we prefer to evaluate the steps we took and the fairness of what we defended. If the diplomatic world and the media appraise this as the largest defeat, our objective was not to seek a defeat; our objective was to make the truth prevail. Our objective was to say that we evidently had the right to express ourselves. I believe that what could generate an opinion of this sort is the extent to which the United States has, perhaps, become accustomed to having its behavior and actions identified with an arrogance and prepotency that no one will be able to question a decision of this sort in venues such as the Security Council and the General Assembly. The fact that we refuse to put up with this blackmail, that we refuse to put up with this prepotency, that we refuse to put up with this U.S. arrogance places the country in a position that, as I was saying not long ago, triggers a very special solidarity that has its roots in an impressive meeting held by the Latin American group of the Nonaligned Movement.

The truth has prevailed. It seems to me that the truth has prevailed. I am firmly convinced the truth has prevailed, because, among other points, the fact that the assembly was summoned alone has surprised everyone. Some were telling us it was unthinkable that the assembly could.... [pauses] It will be very difficult for you to summon the assembly against the wishes of the Security Council, but they have failed. They wanted to discredit the country, wanted to act against the country. They have made mistakes so huge that they pave the path for Cuba to voice what it had in mind at a better venue.

I believe the truth has prevailed. I can also tell you with absolute certainty that there is still a great a deal of pressure to have this truth silenced. For example, there has been an incredible repercussion on this issue from outside the United States, but inside the United States, the fact that the assembly has obtained these results and that Cuba's presentation was listened to as it was was enough. For instance, the images that were seen around the world on the empire's isolation as it withdrew from the UN venue were seen around the world, but they were not seen in the United States. The only images that were seen in the United States were those when the ambassador stated her rebuttal and carefully selected excerpts of Cuba's presentation; this demonstrates the degree to which something that deals a heavy to the United States in this manner is not made public and known domestically at a time such as this. It is advisable, however, for it to make it public abroad. This is why I am saying that even if the truth prevails, sometimes it is very difficult to tell the world we own this truth, even if the truth is in our hands, because the media are not in our hands.

This is what, in my opinion, we must denounce, must continue denouncing, and must not tire of denouncing. I believe it should not be Cuba who evaluates whether this was the worst defeat or a defeat. I prefer that mankind do the evaluating.

In the United Nations there were congratulatory statements, backing, and gratitude for the fact that Cuba was able to speak and not only because Cuba spoke up but also because Cuba, with its conduct, has spared others future situations.

[Diaz] As for the right to respond, the U.S. ambassador said in her first response that Cuba in its bilateral contact with the United States had never denounced the terrorist nature of Brothers to the Rescue. What evidence does Cuba have to refute that statement in addition to the overwhelming evidence you presented in the plenary session of that day? Does Cuba have new evidence to present?

[Robaina] When one listens to the United States state its position, one finds it difficult to understand how such a big, world power can lie and manipulate things the way it does. The words used by the ambassador in her first answer raised, as [word indistinct] has said, much concern, because it was fixed without first listening to what one may have to say. There was no U.S. answer to a statement full of questions. Cuba delivered not a speech but, rather, a huge document with evidence that increasingly quells the arguments the United States utilized to produce the declaration it wanted to draw from the UN Security Council. As evidence was produced, the United States always tried to say it did not know about terrorist activities and claimed that excessive force was used in the case of alleged civilian planes and civilian occupants.

We have all the evidence at hand. Some of it has been reported. I say some, because it is not the General Assembly who is conducting the investigation, and it is not the United States to whom we have to deliver evidence.

The United States would have to present much evidence. The United States should be investigated. This case has to be presented to the international community just as Cuba was investigated. Little has been said that it was Cuba who asked the ICAO to investigate what happened, and Cuba has asked that the entire dimensions of the incident be investigated, including its antecedents and the 24 February events. It is not the Cubans who should be investigated. The site where events were promoted should be investigated. In using the 55 minutes granted for delivering our speech, we presented arguments that included notes that were officially delivered to the State Department as well as information provided to the proper authorities.

That organization has a long record, and those who direct it also have a long record, and there is also a record, quite long also, on to what extent the United States kept track of all this. The reason why I categorically told the U.S. ambassador, You Have Not Told the Whole Truth—this is the phrase I used—is because she did not say all she knew and she evidently did not say what her government had promised it would do but did not do. This is why she had nothing to say in her second response.

In her second reply, she again reponds with accusations, because the arguments are so overwhelming. First, because the incidents occurred inside territorial waters. When I insist on reminding them why they requested permission from us, the concept disappeared. When we mentioned that we warned them, they said that they knew and agreed, but that, after all, many factors were involved that had nothing to do with the possible application of a measure that could have prevented the incident. There were no references to the number of measures—and not only measures—and the amount of time the country has been tolerating and taking preventive measures of this type.

I would just like to add that we not only have the evidence we submitted, but the willingness to cooperate with the inquiries. When Cuba said it was willing to cooperate with the ICAO [International Civil Aviation Organization], it agreed as it has always done: With the absolute certainty that Cuba is willing to state everything because we, I repeat, were attacked and our airspace was violated. So we want that to be investigated. Nobody cares about that more than we do. We will cooperate in everything, but we have also urged that no obstacles be placed on the inquiry, because the United States would also have to present a series of evidence. We are all waiting to see if it will be presented. We do not have a response from the United States to everything we have said. We have yet to learn whether they have received our note. We know they have, but they will have to acknowledge it sometime. Does the United States think that the only country that needs to be investigated is the one that was attacked and not the aggressor?

These are, once again, our opposing stances that place the United States, rather, they are placing themselves on a throne, from where they pretend to rule over us and govern a world that simply cannot be governed, where there are people who increasingly do not allow themselves to be governed.

[Caceres] Companeros, allow me. I would like to tie the question to this very topic, please. As far as I can recall, this is the first time that you, as foreign minister, faced a situation like this in the United Nations, where you have to give answers on a complicated situation to a U.S. representative. Is this true?

[Robaina] Yes.

[Caceres] And what previous personal experience do you have? What can you tell us?

[Robaina] I can speak very little about previous experience on grounds where, I believe, the country is the one that gains the most experience. The country over the years has faced systematic and constant confrontations with the offending country. Somehow, Cubans are born almost ready to argue with the U.S. people. To be more precise, it is not the U.S. people per se. The Cuban people have been attacked so many times since birth — at least the new generations of Cubans — that they naturally prepare their reaction and response to face this country that wants us erased from the map. One could add more ingredients from a diplomatic standpoint. I probably say this because I can add an ingredient that helped me a lot. The messages of solidarity we received from the country in mention are incredible. From telegrams to messages from cooperatives, factories, and schools, and in their own language. I would say that the United States could be answered precisely in that language. It is an extremely interesting and valuable experience, not only because one has the opportunity, but because one takes satisfaction in doing things that the people deserve. The first thing one feels is a great commitment. I know what I am capable of and I try to read how my people want me to address that government. One is always concerned about how to follow the rules that one must, apparently, follow in those scenarios. I say apparently, because the scenarios are sometimes too diplomatic. Our own history has taught us that if we allow ourselves to become bound by rules, the rules will make us lose some of the scenarios we would not be willing to lose, especially when we lack the news media. We lack the power and resources that countries like the United States have. At this stage, this has been my most important experience. It has been my most important experience, not only because of the intensity of the experience, but because of the responsibility that we shouldered. We knew there are 11 million Cubans that would somehow appreciate it.

I honestly say that I needed to act like a foreign minister. We were defending our position and, as Cubans feel, that is what we wanted to interpret. I am sure that some people probably would have wanted us to use other means to express that feeling of Cubanism, as in a scenario where we were not being accused. I was portrayed as someone who went to the media, willing to discuss anything, like a vulgar person, and using a kind of language not suitable at the doorways to a new century.

We were able to demonstrate our determiniation to firmly defend what we had to defend, without having to resort to that which she found necessary to resort to. This simply serves to show that we can accomplish anything. Now, the responsibility was a tremendous one, and to us it represented an extremely serious one. One is never satisfied and I say this with all sincerity. One also tends to recall things which others, who are involved in diplomatic activities, have been able to accomplish. However, in this case, we have had to do more than just recall what other diplomats did. We had to defend any resistance here. I believe that it could not be left unsaid that the people here want to continue feeling confident that their airspace is being adequately monitored and this could not be accomplished with diplomatic words alone. We had to do it firmly, because we were responsible for carrying out a mission that was diplomatic, but diplomatic solely for this country and representing this country. This was the satisfaction we always felt, and I hope we were able to do it to the best of our abilities. At any rate, it is not for us to evaluate that point. I can say that no effort was left wanting. I can also say that we did it in that manner, because at all times we felt supported because of what I already mentioned, and because of the constant contact we maintained with the country's leadership. A decision of this magnitude is not carried out in an individual manner nor is it the responsibility of one single ministry. We received many words of encouragement, and the level of communication with the country's leadership was very intense and continuous. We even maintained systematic contact with Comrade Fidel himself that allowed us at all times to incorporate whatever was required.

[Reporter] Now, Mr. Minister, there are two issues, maybe somewhat unrelated but which I would like to raise now. One, a few minutes ago you mentioned how the dissemination of events at the assembly was completely biased in favor of the United States. In other words, only the U.S. ambassador's intervention was reported. However, in Cuba the entire population was able to witness your address, but also the retort and rejoinder, in fact, everything that took place there that day, including the arguments of the U.S. delegation. All of this took place precisely at a time when Cuba is being accused of not allowing its people access to information on events throughout the world. This is the way it is on the one hand. On the other, the other issue I would like your opinion on is one we believe that has a highly political significance, and it is tremendously important as it relates to what the UN means to the entire world. In order words, many voices have been heard talking about the need to democratize the United Nations. It was quite an accomplishment that Cuba was able to make the UN convene despite opposition from the country that has always attempted to control this organization. And, the General Assembly is the same one that has condemned the U.S. measures and sanctions against

Cuba on several occasions. Well, maybe this represents a significant endorsement to that general call for more changes at the United Nations, for more changes in its main features.

[Robaina] Without a doubt it represents a first step in that direction. Without a doubt it represents an ingredient that contributes to something which we could even say appeared and mobilized the international community in terms of the 50th anniversary of the United Nations. This is all part of the democratization process of the United Nations. We have constantly called attention to the need for a genuine process of democratization. In order to advance to a true democratization process of the United Nations, we have to start from the root of the problem. And the root of the problem, or part of it, lies precisely in the manner in which the responsibilities of the General Assembly have been repeatedly usurped by the Security Council.

The entire world is familiar with our position regarding this Council's actions and how it is manipulated. Nevertheless, we believe this battle should not be fought from the outside. You are familiar with the Cuban position, as expressed by our commander in his speech on the occasion of the commemoration of the UN's 50th anniversary, of the desire to participate in this process from within. Although we question the right to veto, we believe there must be a more equitable distribution. Although Asian, African, and Latin American countries have millions of people, they do not have a single delegate at this permanent Security Council. We know this problem could not be solved overnight, among other reasons, because the right to veto itself will prevent a true transformation process as we all desire.

Something should be done. Perhaps a decision of this kind demonstrates how important it is that the decisions that the Security Council makes behind closed doors — and at the speed it tried to make the decision on Cuba — should be made by the General Asssembly. We proved again today that the Assembly can discuss these subjects. And the international community greatly appreciates this. This is the key focus in the repeated congratulations. We were able to defend the truth of the incident between Cuba and the United States. Many persons approached us to say: This establishes a new game rule and prevents similar occurrences in the future. If the majority of our problems could be taken to the Assembly and could no longer be discussed and manipulated as they are at the Security Council, and if we could have the Security Council be held more accountable to this Assembly, then we would be talking about true democratization. It would no longer be a body that only bears a title, one that cannot prevent decisions from continuing to be made in practice at the Council, which is a closed one. It is true that through the actions of many countries, the impact of decisions can be cushioned. It is also true, however, that the permanent member countries and the Security Council members in general are subjected to many pressures.

[Hector Rodriguez] It should be Osvaldo's turn, but today is International Women's Day.

[Unidentified newswoman] Thanks. I will explain. At the beginning, you said that we were at the crossroads to a great battle, that this was just the beginning. In this context, some U.S. officials said one of these days that they would talk with UN special agencies to try to reduce or eliminate the cooperation and projects that various international UN agencies engage in with Cuba. Is the idea to have Cuba confront this maneuver and a draw a different scenario? Also, is there any kind of demonstration yet?

[Robaina] I said this could be the beginning. To be more exact, I will say this is the beginning of a new escalation. This process started a long time ago and Cuba has much experience in confronting maneuvers of this kind. In particular, we could interpret this one on a large scale, occurring during an important electoral situation in the United States. When we said this was the beginning, we meant the beginning of a campaign that will be carried on in a very particular way, at least until November. During election time in that country, there is nothing more important than elections. In such a framework, they can commit any nonsense, both inside and outside, that can raise a specific number of points in certain opinion polls or determine a specific electoral lead.

It is to be expected that the isolation of this power at the United Nations will bring about new actions from inside and outside the United Nations. The best evidence of this is the way the approval of the Helms-Burton Bill has been speeded up at the Senate and the House of Representatives. And now only the President's approval remains. Some people said it was impossible to speed up the approval in such short time. I would say that the conspiracy itself suceeded in this process. Some people are concerned over our reaction to this. We can discuss it later. But I would say this is perhaps the first evidence.

The United States has shown us that it is not satisfied with just the open measures; I would even go so far to say that they have specialized in taking covert measures. Covert measures means including scenarios that would appear not to be under their control — some are even declared as such, but others that are apparently not in their hands — to apply actions to prevent anything that tends toward a normal development of Cuba or even at a time such this, to a possible way out to our difficult situation.

When we mention these things, it is because the people should be sufficiently prepared to know that to face up to this power the way we have, obviously has a risk. These are risks the country decided to take on a very long time ago. These are risks the country decided to face with the bravery it has faced. But I would say that these risks and this attitude is what has given Cuba the moral authority it has in venues such as the United Nations.

Some said in the corridors: whoever doubts that Cuba can be a power, whoever doubts that Cuba can be a permanent member of the UN Security Council, whoever doubts that Cuba can negotiate with the bigger countries in this world, can come to this hall and see the summoning power Cuba has achieved for its own benefit.

What does this mean then? All these things that Cubans commit themselves to, obviously are paid for dearly, depending on who we face up to. This is why some [countries] take the position that it just as well Cuba says it; luckily, Cuba says it. Anyway, we do not seek to stand out in any way with Cuba being the only one saying it. We want many [countries] to speak up. We are obviously not willing to renounce our ways however harsh those measures may be.

Life has always demanded that we prepare for the worst. I see plenty of concern among the international community as to whether we are prepared for the Helms-Burton Law. If there was ever a country that took into account that the law could be approved or not, or whether its application could be discarded, it was us. Life has shown us that we need to prepare for the worst option, therefore we are prepared to face any option in the best possible way.

A long time ago this law was called Platt. More recently it was called Torricelli, and now it is called Helms-Burton. In the future it could have other names, the only detail is that in Cuba, laws are in Spanish, legislation is not in English, and this is something that obviously that the extreme right-wing Cuban-Americans and Republicans in Congress do not understand.

Ah, this does make our life much tougher. We can say that in a certain way it does cause concern among the economic community and entrepreneurs. But, there is also an interesting point: For the first time there is a response among the international community, such as you have just seen, by countries such as Canada, Mexico, and the European community itself. The law does not only attempt to attack Cuba's sovereignty, the law intends dictating to the world what to do and what not to do. There is a saying that is very Cuban: Sometimes when you tighten the bolts too much you risk stripping the threads. One has to yet see whether the international community will be willing to accept this type of pressure.

[Hector Rodriguez] Well, Osvaldo.

[Osvaldo Rodriguez] Yes. Minister, you mentioned the Helms-Burton Law and I would also mention yet another unilateral U.S. measure, such as the flight prohibition between the two countries, for example. How much do these unilateral U.S. measures affect the migratory agreements that both governments signed?

[Robaina] The application of the measures themselves and part of these announced measures show an inconsistency with the existing migratory agreement. It is hard to believe that we can reach conclusions for the migratory agreement. However, measures are applied, whose own essence contradict the spirit of this migratory agreement. We are in no hurry to take measures and we are not used to responding to threats that are about to be applied.

In the first place, Cuba believes and will continue to defend the rights that Cuban citizens residing in the United States, who are not characterized by their aggressiveness against Cuba, have to travel and have normal relations with their country of origin. We believe that this right has to be defended by the Cubans in the United States and we have to defend this, as we have denounced it in all international venues. We will continue to defend this right. We continue to respect the migration agreement. We continue to work for the compliance of this migratory agreement and in our speech at the United Nations we left it clearly on record that if there is a will and respect, we can discuss any topic.

If what they intend to do was to impose their will and, through this imposition, dictate what Cuba has to do, Cuba has every right to state this is not the language and this is not the way we talk.

The United States is now at a crossroads. It wants to maintain compliance with a migration agreement while enforcing measures that are totally contrary to the spirit of the agreement. In what measure are they capable of continuing to comply with the agreement and in what measure will they maintain the others? We would have to see what happens in the United States.

Two interesting situations will now arise, and are actually arising, in U.S. society. First, Cubans again feel their rights have been affected, and they understand all the limitations have been established on the U.S. side rather than on the Cuban side. Cubans will continue working so they can achieve what they believe is their right to have ties with the island. The U.S. business sector feels about the blockade as we do, because anyone can invest here while that country continues to impose that law and those prohibitions on its businessmen, and it now wants to extend those laws and prohibitions to the rest of the world.

Some have begun to ask: Will they be able to approve the law? We would have to see to what extent they are capable of enforcing the law in the international community. Those are the things the United States has to demonstrate at this moment. We have become accustomed to that type of language and, what is more, we are familiar with that type of language, so we do not react with desperation.

The country first issued a message of encouragement to the community of businessmen who maintain relations with Cuba. The country today continues to offer all the political stability, legal support, existing infrastructure, and guarantees to make those investments; consequently, we say you must definitely be daring to invest in Cuba in the face of a law such as this. Not only must you be daring to be a Cuban and to live, now you must be daring to establish ties with us. Well, there are still many daring Cubans left. We are many, and there are still many in the world who dare establish ties with us and [word indistinct] this position.

We will now have to wait and see what happens within that society. I left the United States a few hours ago, and we would even have to see how the media begin criticizing the action. Some say it is a desperate action; that is, the law's approval in this regard. Others say it is intended to satisfy the appetites of the Cuban-American extreme right, to win over that Cuban-American extreme right at election time. Everyone has begun to consider those factors.

I might add that those of us who know that Cuban-American extreme right very well realize it right will never forgive, accept anything that represents rationality, good sense, and civilized behavior. That is hysteria turned into a gigantic business endeavor and a cheap political campaign so it will torpedo anything that goes against a normal process, not even of relations but of communications between Cuba and the United States. [sentence as heard] Hence, the warning that the maneuver is not only aimed against Cuba; the maneuver is also one against the U.S. Administration.

[Diaz] Excuse me, I want to comment on this point. There are some people who say the U.S. Administration has become a prisoner of this scheme, this pressure from the most conservative groups and the Miami elements. What is your perception?

[Robaina] The difficult thing about a country such as this and a process such as this is how complex it is for others to understand that a country's foreign policy on issues such as this can be dictated by a group and how they can actually become hostages of the, let us say, Cuban-American mafia that has settled there and has made that political race and visceral hate against Cuba the goal of their lives and their work for more than 30 years. To think that the might of a nation can succumb, fall prey to, and become the victim of that manipulation is what sometimes proves the contrary; that is, it shows where the power actually is. Those are the things that are hard to understand. Any U.S. citizen in the rest of the states would have every right to ask if the foreign policy of a country that has a large quantity of states, as it does, should be dictated by what a group in a given state wants to take to that Congress and that country.

I believe this point, more than the might of a country, demonstrates its inability to do some matters it cannot do because it is a hostage.

[Caceres] You have mentioned that many have protested against the Helms—Burton Law. You have mentioned Canada, Mexico, the European Union, the Latin American Parliament, which stated its position yesterday, and an agreement is being sought within the Rio Group. I would like to know what you think about Clinton's statement yesterday that he is going to sign this law next week, because the new draft does not include any element that violates international law.

[Robaina] During my brief experience, life has shown me that when campaigns and provocations of this nature take place, many things are said, and few people investigate what is being said. I do not think the Cuban side has to respond to that type of statement. I think if that U.S. law did not break commitments and international laws, as he and others have claimed, that law would not have been attacked before and after its approval. Because of the crude language of this law and its extraterritorial nature, Cuba is being understood nowadays more than ever. Some people are surprised to see how many are supporting Cuba's position. We could say that mankind is reacting against a law that not only goes against Cuba, it is a law that is openly against mankind, and mankind has decided to respond in this fashion.

The sole fact that the European Union, Canada, and Mexico have made known their concern and that important activities such as the ones I mentioned are taking place are evidence that not just the international community is concerned; there are some who have made statements that go beyond concern. Some have already challenged the law.

We will evidently have to wait and see to what extent the United States is prepared to face such a situation, not only Cuba. I think time will say. We have to wait for the final approval. We also have to wait and see what happens from the moment that law is finally passed and the moment it is implemented.

It is important that our people realize that the law is already harming us. It is not necessary for the law to be approved to be harmful to the country. The law has already harmed us without being approved. Many people who had plans to invest on the island or to trade with the island, when faced with a process of this nature, prefer to wait to see what happens.

Businesses are usually daring, to be able to secure results, but if there is too much of an uproar, as is the case around Cuba, they prefer to wait to see if they will have more or less problems somewhere else.

We must not think big problems will begin once the law is approved. The country was inflicted serious harm the moment the bill, even the previous law, the Torricelli Law, was being studied. It is painful to repeat the same process. We would be doing better if we did not face the many obstacles and distances. This is the background. The United States will have to face Cuba only. The United States may have to answer many questions. We have to wait and see what tone is used in the questioning and whether the United States will set arrogance aside and begin answering.

[Diaz] Several remarks have been made about the U.S. aggressiveness, sensitivity at the drop of a hat, and measures announced and imposed by the U.S. President. After all this, is there any present channel of communication between the United States and Cuba?

[Robaina] Although we do not have diplomatic relations with the United States, channels of communication exist between the two countries in many forms. I would say the United States is very familiar with our way of thinking, and we are very familiar with the U.S. way of thinking. We hold relations, about which the people know, through the respective U.S. or Cuban interests sections in the two countries. These offices maintain this level of communication, which is marked by many regulations and restrictions at this time. One of the measures announced is to restrict the movements of our officials in their own work and activities in the United States. We believe that although a channel is not formally established, there are ways of communication that gradually pave the way. On our part, there is no objection to keep encouraging this communication. I just met separately with congressmen who are reluctant to close this channel of communication, because many of them still have not accepted their country's position regarding Cuba.

I would say this is a time of strong confrontation, but that point, in fact, does not break the channels of communication that have existed between the two countries. Although communications have been hurt, we were able to discuss certain aspects; this does not mean, however, Cuba is not willing to communicate. I would like to tell U.S. authorities and people as well as the international community that Cuba remains willing to discuss and talk about any subject with the United States on one condition only: That there should not be any conditions. This willingness, based on mutual respect, does exist, despite the circumstances, and we have provided the first proof in the middle of the crisis.

In the middle of the crisis, when we realized the U.S. Government had been willing to take certain measures, we said that in accordance with those measures, Cuba would act with all possible moderation. This assertion caused an impact on U.S. society, because everyone thought Cuba's reaction would be different if the events continued to proceed like this, but Cuba has been patient and controlled enough to ponder and consider how best to react. It is evident this point requires further assessment, because the worst thing that could happen to us in this regard is that we would not know what will happen in the United States even tomorrow. Of course, they do not know themselves, busy as they are following up their own electoral activities and campaign.

If, in addition, they are holding elections, it is impossible to know what will happen, because this depends on and occurs as a function of yesterday's opinion poll to see the candidates' positions in tomorrow's polls. It so happens that we must also observe the polls in the United States in addition to the problems we have. You understand that to work under these circumstances in such a country is very difficult. For this reason, our country has never been marked by advising anyone. This is not the way we speak. In addition, we will not accept advice ourselves.

It is very important for the Americans to organize their elections despite their problems, which they have in abundance. Let them hold their elections despite their problems and internal activities. Let them not organize their elections at the expense of countries or situations that can be especially created to guarantee electoral campaigns with highs and lows.

This is really the phenomenon that should be discussed. Willingness on our side is not lacking, but, together with this willingness, there will always be firmness and principles for a normal relation with any country in the world. All we want is to hold normal relations with the United States as with any other country. What cannot exist is a relationship of subordination, where they say when, how, and where and where all that we can say is: Yes, sir. [previous two words in English] This is not our language.

[Rodriguez] Osvaldo.

[O. Rodriguez] Some people believe the recently approved law is the coup de grace to the so-called Track Two. What is your opinion?

[Robaina] There are many ways to interpret the tracks. Track Two [pauses] perhaps at any given time one could lead a lengthy discussion on the tracks issue. Track Two was conceived simply as an alternative in view of Track One's inefficiency. The law could be the coup de grace for Track Two; it could be interpreted that way. However, I would say that in a normal process of relations between Cuba and the United States — supposing that we arrive at a normal process — knowing the manner in which that country or its leaders still thinks of us, it seems to me that we are going to have nearly normal relations and that we are going to live in a gigantic track.

The basic phenomenon is very difficult [pauses] they can change tracks but their goal remains the same. They have not in any way disguised their goals. They even said at one time that this law would not be necessary because with the Torricelli Law they could get all they wanted from us. However, the question that must be asked is, who has told the United States that it must decide what must be gotten from us?

Therefore, they can change tracks, they can call it Track Two, Track Three, or Track Four. We have a different interpretation of the track phenomenon. Future relations with the United States, a normal relationship, an allegedly normal relationship with the United States must always be viewed as a track where many things will take place that we are not interested in adapting to. These things could be cultural or traditional phenomena or what have you. However, it will be a track into which we will also incorporate many things that we also want to transmit to that society.

I believe that the difference between the two tracks is not basic, because the United States has publicly stated that the ultimate goal is — in either track — to make Cuba a model democracy having a model political system that was not chosen by the Cuban people. Once again the U.S. concept is mistaken. The United States cannot resign itself to the fact that many U.S. citizens understand and respect the path we have chosen. It is surprising how some U.S. citizens say they disagree with what we are doing, as if their assessment were the only one. I could say that we also disagree with what they are doing. It is a matter of opinion that must be viewed from either side.

I do not know if this is a coup [illegible] grace but in my opinion, regardless of which track they are in, they have not relinquished their basic goal, and this is what we must prepare for. We must even be prepared when we debate internally. What will happen the day the blockade is lifted? We must prepare ourselves psychologically; the lifting of the blockade will not automatically resolve all of our problems. New problems, different type of problems, will begin for us. Not as sensitive as medicine or food; they will be different type of problems. However, it will not be as difficult, stormy, or cruel to see the problems our country must deal with to maintain its levels of education, health, and many other things. We must use the little we have to tour the entire world. I would say we should also prepare for this.

Some would say that this evidently delays the likelihood of normalizing relations. Frankly speaking, I would even say that we never viewed the likelihood of normalizing relations that closely. Some believed that it was right around the corner, because of the absence of certain types of pronouncements. Sometimes it is possible to hold aggressive attitudes even without having to make certain types of statements. Therefore, we have to prepare for many more difficult years ahead and, hopefully, reason and good sense will lead us to normal relations. However, it is said that life is hard. Now, for example, elections are near, and after the elections there is the second term. This country has sufficient experience with second terms since we have gone through several second terms. As far as Cuba is concerned, the difference between the second and first term has not been substantial. I believe the country has to get use to continuing with what we have already accomplished. We have to stick to our own road and independently [pauses]. Evidently, we would do it a lot better, if we had a civilized relationship with that country. It is located 90 miles from our coast and they have no intention of relocating, and much less are we anticipating such a move. We are fascinated with this climate, we are fascinated with this place and we have no intention of moving. [laughter]. At any rate, we plan to follow our own path.

[O. Rodriguez] Hector.

[Rodriguez] One last question, as far as I am concerned. In light of this situation you have just outlined, and regarding this new situation the country has to confront, what will the future strategy of the Cuban foreign policy be like?

[Robaina] First of all, any future strategies of the Cuban foreign policy, the previous, the current, and future ones are related to the strategy the country has adopted in order to survive, to resist. Now it is no longer simply to resist, but we also have to move forward now. And, for us to be able to speak in a year's time of not only what we were able to resist but also of the results accomplished. Therefore, it is a strategy that intends to show the world what we have been able to resist, based on our own means. That is our basic strategy. A strategy that aims to demonstrate that in a world that seeks to be plural, there must be sufficient space for a path we Cubans have chosen to follow. Otherwise, the world is not as plural as some would say. In other words, we must demonstrate that we are standing by the socialism we have chosen, the principles we have never rejected, and the dreams we have had to postpone. In a world that has changed substantially, it is part of our strategy not to renounce the path that we had initially chosen. How do we strengthen ourselves in an environment where there was an attempt to have us artificially cast out? There was an attempt to have us cast out of Latin America and the Caribbean. Today, we are part of Latin America and the Caribbean in a substantially different manner than in previous years. How should we carry out our role at the United Nations, how should we direct our efforts so that in a unipolar world, the Non-Aligned Movement can play a much more decisive role than when the world was bipolar. These are issues that we could say are the basic features of the Cuban foreign policy. A country's foreign policy does not undergo too many changes. I have been asked this question on many occasions. I have been asked this question from one year to another, from 1994 to 1995, from 1995 to 1996. A country's foreign policy is too serious a matter to be changed on 31 December or 1 January. In addition, a country's foreign policy is too serious a matter to change because of a conflict with the United States, or a conflict that could have risen during these past days. What I could say has to be intensified because, as aggressive attitudes toward Cuba continue to increase, Cuba must also find channels to disseminate its truth to the world. Therefore we have to be in many [pauses]. For example, this same week we have had to appear in six or seven locations at the same time. There was a Caricom [Caribbean Common Market] summit where it was critical for us to be to explain our truth. At this time our first deputy foreign minister is about to travel to the Rio Group countries. Once there, he plans to meet bilaterally and explain events. All of this is so that not only the U.S. ambassador's message in a specific country is heard saying what is taking place in Cuba. Therefore since we do not have press resources to put our version in print, we must apply variations that will allow us [pauses]. I would say that our strategy must now be more aggressive than before, more so now, because as the country finds more solutions - which it is finding - there will be more attempts to scuttle these solutions. As long as there are attempts to scuttle our solutions, even more so, we will have to find our own path so that the truth can be heard. I can even say that without having to appear before many UN assemblies, the same opportunity we had to express the facts of an event must be repeated in any possible scenario. One thing that is clear is that with respect to this country, there are many truths to be said.

[O. Rodriguez] Nidia?

[Diaz] One last question...

[H. Rodriguez] That is three last questions. [Laughter] The minister arrived...

[Robaina] The minister can resist it. However, I do not believe Cuban women can stand to listen to the minister much more on their day.

[Diaz] Mr. Minister, you said at the beginning that the United States had organized a conspiracy against Cuba, in addition to the ones it usually organizes, with this last issue of the crisis that arose with the downing of the airplanes.

In the rebuttal of the North American ambassador, she listed three elements that had a very marked and macabre intention. These three elements are as follows: First, the apparent disposition the United States demonstrated as it made possible the steps for you to be able to go to New York without the customary procedures and the visa; second, you declined the opportunity she gave you to speak at the Security Council; and third, the insistence of the rebuttal to circumscribe this latest crisis between Cuba and the United States only to the 24 February incidents, without referring to the process that led to and triggered this crisis. Could we infer that these three elements are also part of this conspiracy you were talking about?

[Robaina] I must explain to prevent any misunderstandings. With regard to the incidents on 24 February, we publicly said that we do not believe the government caused them. We believe that the government did not adopt measures that could have prevented the 24 February incidents from going as far as they did. This is what we have denounced.

Now, once the incident took place, we did not have the slightest doubt that since it was taken to this point, to this extreme, a conspiracy had been staged. They thought they had in their hands something very powerful that could be used at any given time to condemn Cuba and exploit it as a domestic electoral issue.

We have strongly denounced this, and it is the reason why I have spoken of a true conspiracy. I would say there are two conspiracies, one of them by the Cuban-American extreme right, with the most conservative members of the U.S. Government, who are the ones who make incidents such as these permissible and viable. They give free rein to incidents like these. It is almost as if they set a trap. This is what I meant when I said this was not only against Cuba, but against the current administration. If there is something that is more, let us say, orchestrated, we are more than trained to face it. The ambassador referred to these three elements.

The first element is true; there was an apparent disposition to grant this visa. It is an apparent disposition in which she said through the established channels that they would not raise any objections to for me to get there, but when we publicly told them to take advantage of the time I was in the air to have the visa ready for me at airport, thus buying time, it was not possible. Let us take advantage.... [pauses] They started rejecting all possibilities until, in an also apparent demonstration of resolve to grant the visa, the latest visa which was granted in Mexico, where I arrived in the early morning when the Security Council was still in session, the consulate was resolutely willing to grant me a visa. I went to the consulate at that time of the early morning. The visa officer was there, but the immigration specialist who had to process the request did not arrive. What is difficult to understand is that the resolution was approved at 0330 hours, that the statement was approved at 0330 hours, and the person who had to grant the visa showed up at 0430 hours.

When you see all these elements together, it is difficult to understand how willing they were. This could have been resolved, because I was willing to go the United States and wait at the airport until the visa was granted, but that was not possible, because it violated.... [pauses] She said all the necessary assurances were given. It did not take many days. The problem is that if the commissions are not normal, evidently the steps cannot be normal either. [sentence as heard]

What we told them was to wait a few hours for Cuba to be able to talk, but the reasoning they used was exactly the opposite. The Security Council was summoned Sunday night. The Security Council, in an exaggerated manner, processed all this in only 31 hours. I hope—and this is the basic problem.... [pauses] If all the world's problems had been analyzed as quickly as the Security Council analyzed this one, we would have avoided many unfortunate and sad things that have happened in this world.

I rightfully declined. We could have made a mistake, but we do not think so though, because, in practice, they approved a document; they had the document approved, and they made it known to the entire world. They said he can come later to give his opinion. Why do they want our opinion after the document was approved?

If they did not wait for us, we then said: We want to go to the other forum, the forum in which we want to believe. This is when it becomes very hard to understand that this conspiracy is not orchestrated.

The other thing is that they wanted to stick to the 24 February crisis. They used arguments to which we did not have time to reply. In a show of extreme sensibility, the ambassador told us that—this point is something that hurts Cubans very much—the relatives of the four victims, the four people who lost their lives because of an irresponsible and provoking action had visited her. It hurt us a great deal to see that in an action of pure electoral campaign and pure demagoguery, these visits were made. We have lived in this country for more than 30 years with the relatives of thousands of victims of that U.S. aggression, of those irresponsible actions.

She even made stronger remarks in Miami, in the ceremony to which she loaned herself to the Cuban-American extreme right. She warned that if we did not do what we had to do, they would take measures. She used this language which evidently characterizes the U.S. Administration and which we are not ready to tolerate. There, she dared to say she kept waiting for a Cuban excuse in vain.

Well, Cuba and the international community have waited in vain for an end to the U.S. arrogance. Cuba and the international community have waited in vain more than 37 years for an end to that arrogance, that aggression, that spirit of owner of the world, but we have never heard an expression of humility, an expression of wishing to participate in an uninterested manner in resolving a problem. This is what we believe we had to report.

I believe the best response to her lies was given by that silence at the assembly and that lonely departure, the loneliness of the empire, in its own scenario, a scenario which it always thought it controlled. We wonder what it means to leave that scenario alone, without anyone stopping her along the way for any reason. That is something the empire has a hard time recognizing.

[Rodriguez] Nidia.

[Diaz] I have no further questions.

[Rodriguez] Irma.

[Caceres] I want to address a practical issue. We have talked about many things in a broad an ample manner, but I would like to know how does the current situation affect the family reunification process? In other words, what is happening with this issue?

[Robaina] The desire expressed by the government in the conferences that have been convened to firmly maintain normal relations with Cubans living abroad has not changed. Evidence of this is that during our participation at the UN General Assembly, we met with a large number of Cubans residing in the United States, the overwhelming majority of whom came from Miami. We exchanged views with them, because we thought they were entitled to hear our truth. This was an impressing meeting in a church in Harlem. There, we announced a measure you already know: The application of the travel validity document. We granted the first 100 travel validity documents to Cubans who reside in the United States.

I may add something very important: What they wanted to know and what they heard was so startling that even after that decision was made, their questions did not concentrate on the travel validity document. They inquired about what Cuba was going to say at the assembly. What did they have to do? What could they do from there?

I want to state that in spite of the measures that have been announced to further curtail the travel of Cubans residing in the United States, we will continue to welcome those who do not maintain an aggressive attitude. We will receive those who are not hysterical. I would say that the U.S. actions reaffirm more each time the need for us and moderate Cuban-Americans to continue to advance along this path.

These are the things that happen when action is taken against one Cuba. When a Cuban is banned from doing things and things are imposed on him, he always seeks ways to do things through alternative avenues.

I would say today that the fundamental purpose of most of those Cubans is to challenge that bill, to condemn that policy.

### Cuba: Assessing Likelihood of Closing Airspace to U.S.

*PA1003040096 Paris AFP in Spanish 2253 GMT 9 Mar 96*

[By Michael Langan]

[FBIS Translated Text] Havana, 9 Mar (AFP) — Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina today warned that Cuba is assessing the likelihood of closing its airspace to U.S. commercial airlines although he added that no concrete decision had been adopted yet on the issue.

In a clear reference to the U.S. Congress decision this week to approve the Helms-Burton legislation with a view to intensifying even more the U.S. economic embargo against the island, which has been in effect for the past 34 years, Robaina stated to the press in Havana that Cuba is also prepared to adopt measures.

U.S. President Bill Clinton is expected to sign the Helms-Burton legislation sometime this week.

Cuba has three international air corridors used daily by 400 regular flights, most of which are U.S. commercial airlines. At the same time, Cuban aircraft are barred from entering U.S. airspace without a special permit.

Cuban People's Assembly President Ricardo Alarcon said this week Havana could close its air corridors to U.S. airplanes if the U.S. Government does not adopt measures to prevent boats and aircraft from the United States from illegally entering the island's waters and airspace.

The announcement was made following the 24 February downing by Cuban fighters of two civilian airplanes flown by pilots from the dissident organization Brothers to the Rescue.

Cuba claims the two Cessnas had entered its airspace illegally, the reason why it acted to defend its sovereignty, but the United States insists the two aircraft were flying over international waters.

Bill Clinton, who has promised that U.S. ships and airplanes would refrain from entering Cuban territorial waters to prevent any further incidents, reacted to the downing of the two aircraft by endorsing the Helms-Burton legislation, which intends to sanction companies from third countries that decide to invest in Cuba.

Included among those countries are several U.S. allies such as Canada and the EU, which have strongly condemned the scheduled signing of the law.

Robaina said his government does not feel threatened by the law, although he acknowledged that some investors might think twice and assess what problems the law could cause them in case it is approved.

Florida, which Clinton won by a narrow margin in 1992, is inhabited by more than 1 million Cuban-Americans, and considering that he is running for reelection, the Democratic President must be careful to humor his voters.

Clinton's Republican rivals in the race for the White House have been more inclined toward adopting tougher measures against the communist government of Fidel Castro, a point which could earn them many votes from naturalized Cubans during the Florida primary elections that will be held on 12 March.

### Cuba: Minister Reacts to Passage of Helms-Burton Bill

*PA1103025296 Havana Radio Havana Cuba in Spanish 0000 GMT 11 Mar 96*

[From the "Evening Information Review" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Cuban Foreign Trade Minister Ricardo Cabrisas has characterized the recent passage of the Helms-Burton Bill as a consolidation of the pretexts of the most reactionary U.S. sectors acting against Cuba's sovereignty, adding that it makes the people of the island return to the shameful situation that existed prior to the revolutionary victory of 1959.

In an interview published by the weekly JUVENTUD REBELDE, Cabrisas has said the United States with this bill wants to enforce its laws beyond its borders through intimidation and blackmail on governments and businessmen from throughout the world who want to establish trade links with the island.

The Helms-Burton Bill, Cabrisas has said, violates WTO principles and objectives. The WTO calls for the liberalization of international relations without obstacles.

The Cuban minister has said that even though the controversial law punishes Cuba's business partners, our country hopes our ties with firms and countries from almost the entire world will be consolidated and grow.

Making a detailed analysis of the main effects of the U.S. blockade against the island, Cabrisas has said this point could be summarized by reporting one figure: $40 billion, the amount the Cuban economy has lost [words indistinct] of the economic blockade.

## Mexico: NAFTA's 1st Year Results Surpass Expectations

*PA0803163796 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 2150 GMT 6 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Hermosillo, 6 Mar (NOTIMEX) — A Secretariat of Commerce source said today that the operational results obtained in the first year of NAFTA's implementation surpassed trade expectations in the region.

Jaime Zabludovsky, International Trade Negotiations under secretary of the Secretariat of Commerce, said that in 1994, the commercial exchange in the region climbed 17 percent, which represents an increase of $50 billion.

Participating in the 5th Trilateral Meeting of the North American Chambers of Commerce, he pointed out that "in 1995, NAFTA played a fundamental role in confronting Mexico's economic hardships."

He stressed that trade among Mexico, the United States, and Canada passed a difficult test and the trade agreement has become one of the pivotal instruments to face the difficulties.

In 1995, the commercial exchange between Mexico and the United States amounted to $120 billion, equal to an increase of 13 percent, while trade with Canada amounted to $3.3 million, which represents an increase of 18 percent.

He explained that the implementation of NAFTA in 1994 enabled key sectors of the Mexican economy to improve their position against those of other countries in the U.S. market. For instance, the textile and steel sectors increased their presence in that country.

Zabludovsky indicated that NAFTA is the best route to the economic progress of North America, and emphasized that the dynamism of the trade between Mexico and its North American partners has not been limited to the trade of goods, but it has also extended to other areas.

He added that the "North American trade, with clear and permanent regulations in trade and investment matters has promoted the strategic alliances and joint production processes that enable the region to face competition with other regions. [no closing quotation mark as received]

With regard to Mexico, he explained that exports will continue to be one of the main generators of economic growth, and NAFTA, a key instrument for promoting them at meetings such as these, which show the great interest of the business community.

German Gonzalez Quintero, president of the Confederation of the National Chambers of Commerce, noted that the meeting represents an opportunity to assess the progress, benefits, and difficulties of NAFTA.

He established that Mexico has undertaken an unprecedented process of commercial opening, which currently places it among those countries that have required valor and courage to begin an integration process such as the current one.

Gonzalez added that for Mexico, foreign trade is a true alternative to move forward; however, the main challenge is to maintain and increase current export levels to attract foreign currency that guarantees the necessary raw materials and technologies to compete.

Hector Larios, president of the Business Coordinating Council, pointed out that in the medium term, the free trade, promoter of Mexico's economic development, will prompt that higher salaries, in real terms, be paid here.

He explained that by no means, does this situation imply that the country will lose its competitiveness, since the more development, the better the salaries, which will result in an increase in the productivity of its workers.

Larios admitted that some are confused and discouraged by the fact that there are conflicts in the implementation of NAFTA and this is normal, as there will always be differences because those affected by competition will try to defend themselves with the means at hand, with or without treaty.

He stressed that the true interests of each one of the three countries will prevail over the pressures or the group interests, and this region will become one of the world's most dynamic poles of development.

## Mexico: Secretary Rejects Approval of Helms-Burton Bill

*PA0803164496 Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 7 Mar 96 p 10*

[Report by David Aponte]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Mexican Foreign Relations Secretariat, SRE, has reported that the Mexican Government on 6 March sent a diplomatic note to the U.S. Department of State, in which it deeply regretted the approval of the Helms-Burton Bill by the U.S. Congress. It also deplored the fact that its concern, shared by the EU and Canada, was not taken into consideration.

Consequently, Mexican authorities will use all the legal recourses that NAFTA offers to "impugn" the effects of that law in international trade, in cooperation with the Canadian Government. The Mexican Government "is not isolated" in its rejection of that law, Foreign Secretary Jose Angel Gurria said.

In a brief statement for three newspapers published in Mexico City, U.S. Ambassador James Jones said that the law, also known as "Act for Liberty and Democratic Solidarity in Cuba," will pose some "challenges" to the WTC and NAFTA. "It is a matter of knowing how to handle the matter concerning that law. It is possible that some Mexican enterprises will be affected. In general, however, our trade policy will not change. Our commercial relations with Mexico and Canada will not be affected," he added.

Upon learning that the U.S. House of Representatives had approved the Helms-Burton Bill, the SRE issued a press communique stating that: "The Mexican Government regrets that the concerns it had expressed about the law, shared by the EU countries and Canada, were not taken into consideration in the final version that was approved.

"Mexico feels that various chapters and sections of the law contradict international laws as well as regional and bilateral commitments. In its letter and spirit, the law is contrary to the principles contained in the UN Charter and includes aspects that could generate conflicts of a legal nature, violating NAFTA and the objectives of the WTO.

"The Mexican Government is concerned that, ignoring the principle of respect for the sovereignty of states, the law may attempt to implement U.S. domestic regulations beyond its borders and place controversies resulting from actions taken by a foreign government under the jurisdiction of a U.S. district court.

"Consequently, Mexico, together with Canada, will resort to all the legal recourses offered by NAFTA to impugn the effects of that law on international trade."

Foreign Secretary Gurria said that "the position is the same that the Mexican Government has always maintained since the discussion began on the Helms-Burton Bill. We believe that extraterritorial implementation of the laws of one country in another is unacceptable."

After accompanying UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali to the inauguration of the UN Park in the Chapultepec area, Gurria said: "(the law) is a violation of international laws, commercial agreements, and NAFTA itself. In addition, as we have always said, Mexico is not alone in its position. The Canadian Government, the EU, the Caribbean Common Market — all countries — individually or through regional organizations, have expressed their concern and rejection."

At approximately 1300 on 6 March, the Mexican SRE sent a new diplomatic note to Washington, expressing its deep concern over the approval of the Helms—Burton Bill, which seeks to harden the economic embargo on Cuba.

With the new law, the U.S. Government makes it possible to file lawsuits against foreign companies investing in properties confiscated by Cuban authorities. In an attempt to discourage foreign investments in the island, it denies entrance into the United States of foreign businessmen and executives doing business with Havana.

In the afternoon hours, members of the Movement of Solidarity with Cuba conducted a rally in front of the U.S. Embassy in our country to voice their repudiation to the U.S. law. Using makeshift planes made out of paper, Cuban flags, and white balloons, the demonstrators shouted slogans like: "Che, Che, Che Guevara, the Helms-Burton Bill can go to hell." The demonstrators also hurled eggs at the Embassy building.

## Mexico: Transportation Sector Has Complaints, Demands

*PA0803131596 Mexico City Radio Red Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 5 Mar 96*

[Report by Antonio Guzman in Mexico City from "The Night Monitor" newscast; live — passages within quotation marks recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Even though Mexico's cargo transportation members have reached an agreement with banks and private leasing companies to settle their overdue portfolio of 25 billion pesos, the obstacles created by the U.S. Government regarding the circulation of Mexican vehicles within its territory, as agreed in the North American Free Trade Agreement [NAFTA], still represent the main problem in this sector.

The report was given in a news conference by Bernardo Lijtszain, president of the National Chamber of Land Cargo Transportation [Canacar]. He explained that the inspection of Mexican trailers and trucks by U.S. Customs takes up to six hours; adding vehicles are not allowed to enter U.S. territory if a light bulb is not working properly. While they check everything over there, our authorities check nothing, he said.

Even domestic transportation, which is restricted to Mexican companies, has been invaded by companies from the northern neighbor under the scheme of neutral investments, which authorities cannot or will not regulate. This is a mechanism in which certain partnerships are created with some Mexican enterprises so he demanded that the proper regulations be established as soon as possible, to allow these investments without participating in a disloyal competition against Mexican businessmen.

Referring to this issue he said the following:

[Lijtszain] "They are supported by a strong economy that will prove detrimental for us [words indistinct]. They can afford the luxury of subsidizing transportation services they render in Mexico for one, two, or three years, without profits and cutting costs, to the detriment of Mexican transportation members."

The Canacar president admitted that Mexican transportation sector members are at a disadvantage against the U.S. sector and he gave some figures. He commented that, while the largest Mexican company has approximately 900 units, including trailers and trucks, they have an average 10,000 units in the United States. He said it is difficult to compete under these circumstances. He also admitted they lack the capability to compete, above all in the international trade sector. He commented on this:

[Lijtszain, in progress] "...most international cargo activities because we are not competitive, but we have the domestic market instead and it was reserved for the Mexicans."

That is why they will demand that the authorities fully respect what was agreed in the NAFTA, meaning that the Mexico's domestic market, internal transportation, be respected and be fully assigned to Mexican enterprises, or they will be eliminated, as the chamber president said.

## Mexico: U.S. 'Benefited' From Financial Sector Opening

*PA0903013396 Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 4 Mar 96 p 50*

[Report by Patricia Munoz Rios]

[FBIS Translated Text] Since implementation of NAFTA two years ago, the United States has benefited from Mexico's opening in the financial sector—multipurpose banks [banca multiple] and other institutions—communications and transportation, mining, telephone services, and other activities our country has deregulated.

According to an analysis called the Impact of NAFTA in North America Two Years After Its Implementation carried out by the Secretariat of Commerce and Industrial Development (Secofi), the United States and Canada have benefited from the opening in the Mexican financial sector and have made investments to increase their presence in that market. At the same time, the participation of U.S. capital in the entire Mexican productive sector was accelerated through "strategic alliances."

Hence, since implementation of this agreement, 43.3 percent of foreign investments in the country, mainly from the United States, were channeled to the financial services sector, 40.1 percent to transportation and communications, and only 12 percent to industries.

On trade, the document states that Mexico exports to the United States two times more merchandise than all Latin American countries, 10 times more than all of Central America, and more than Hong Kong, South Korea, and Singapore combined. Nevertheless, the surplus in the Mexican trade balance with the United States is still small.

In its report, Secofi has stated that NAFTA has created "uncertainty" regarding access to Mexican exports. It does not, however, mention bilateral problems regarding tomatoes or noncompliance with cargo transportation agreements.

The document has stated that "the average duties applied by the United States to Mexican products in only two years have dropped from 3.5 to 1.5 percent, while the average tariff Mexico charges to U.S. products decreased from 10 to 4.9 percent."

In addition, the analysis has stated that trade between Mexico and the United States reached a historical level of $100.33 billion during the first year of NAFTA's implementation. It has failed to mention, however, that the imbalance in the country's external accounts, due among other factors to the enormous commercial deficit, led the country to a macroevaluation.

According to Secofi, "Mexico's trade with its commercial partners continued its upward trend, maintaining higher levels than those registered before implementation of the treaty" despite the enormous crisis and the economic difficulties.

Mexican-U.S. bilateral trade totaled $120.4 billion in 1995, 13 percent more than the previous year, while trade between Mexico and Canada reached $3.353 billion, 8 percent more than the previous year.

The reduction in the price of Mexican products, resulting from the new tariffs, increased Mexican exports considerably.

In that regard, Secofi has reported that the sale of Mexican products in U.S. markets totaled $66.57 billion in 1995, a 29 percent growth over the previous year. The report added that the "growth of Mexico's total sales to the U.S. market was almost three times the amount of exports to that country from the rest of the world."

In its analysis, Secofi has stated that the implementation of NAFTA has made it possible for important sectors of the Mexican economy "to improve their position" regarding other countries in the U.S. market, with products such as textiles and steel.

Regarding investments, Secofi affirms that deregulation measures and modifications made to the foreign investments' legal framework based on NAFTA have increased the foreign investors' trust, simplified administrative procedures, and eliminated performance requirements such as a certain degree of national participation, a stable trade balance, exportation capabilities, etc.

Mexico has unilaterally opened its doors further to foreign investments in sectors such as the mining for iron, the production of car parts, telephone services, and multipurpose banks and other financial institutions. This explains why 43.3 percent of the foreign investments made during the two years NAFTA has been in effect went to the financial services sector, 40.1 percent to transportation and communications, 12 percent to the industrial sector, and 4.6 percent to other sectors.

According to the document, "the United States and Canada invested $1.229 billion in the financial sector during the first two years of NAFTA. Of this amount, 86 percent went to recently opened activities."

### Mexico: Poll Says Most Citizens Distrust Government

*PA0903011496 Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 7 Mar 96 p 44*

[FBIS Translated Text] According to a poll conducted by Gallup of Mexico in Mexico City, Guadalajara, and Monterrey, most Mexicans trust neither the government's efforts nor predictions for overcoming the economic crisis, because they believe their personal situation and that of the country "could not be worse."

According to the sample taken between 20 and 28 January, the people who were polled trust "or would like to trust" that 1996 will be slightly better than 1995. "They even assume hopeful attitudes that contrast with a hopeless reality."

Gallup stated that it is believed that the situation "hit bottom" in 1995 and that "one could not be any worse." The expectation to overcome the economic problems is based "on the fact that the private sector will not remain with its arms folded and will play a pivotal role in the country's growth in light of the government's idleness. There is no confidence in the authorities' activities and forecasts, but it is believed the government will have to do something."

Those whom Gallup polled feel that 1996 is not the time to grow on an individual basis and that this situation is a "natural" one that will spread throughout the year.

In view of this motionless situation, the firm added, people believe they cannot exert any pressure; thus, they are preparing to maintain the current status quo more so than improving it.

As one conclusion of the survey, Gallup stated "it is paradoxical to observe that individuals adapted themselves to a new economic capability by cutting their budgets in light of the events of 1995 but that this adaptation process did away with the need to procure new resources. This situation will prevail throughout 1996."

To conduct the survey in the three cities, Gallup held four group sessions in Mexico City with men and women between the ages of 25 and 50 from the middle and upper-middle classes. It also surveyed 1,000 people of both genders from the upper, middle, and lower classes living in Mexico City, Guadalajara, and Monterrey.

According to the results of the poll, 68 percent of those surveyed believe the country is "much worse off" or "worse off" than a year ago. Although this proportion is considerably lower than the 94 percent obtained in a similar survey conducted in January 1995, it indicates that a pessimistic perception persists among most Mexicans.

Regarding the people's personal perception of the situation, the poll indicates that 47 percent of those polled in 1996 said they are "much worse off" or "worse off" than in 1995; 33 percent thought they are in "conditions equal" to those of a year ago; and 20 percent stated they are "better off" or "much better off."

The pessimistic perception of the country's 1996 situation is larger among the middle class and Mexico City residents and increases as people get older.

In retrospect, the people whom Gallup polled said that trying to keep whatever they had prior to the December 1994 devaluation was the aspect that triggered more concerns among people throughout 1995. Thus, all expectations for better standards of living were quelled, and "extreme frustration" emerged.

Gallup affirmed that the emotional impact of the crisis, which is apparently larger among those men who had to add labor uncertainty to household pressure, largely triggered family tension, discomfort, and disagreement and scarce community coexistence.

The emotional impact the crisis triggered was so large that the reactions did not always correspond to the problems. In addition, the economic situation prompted countless conflicts, lifestyle changes, and, particularly, a widespread discouragement.

### Mexico: Components of Guerrero Violence Viewed

*96CA0123A Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 27 Feb 96*

[Commentary by Luis Hernandez Navarro, adviser to the National Coordinating Board of Coffee Grower Organizations and researcher at the Center for Studies for Change in the Mexican Countryside: "Hell in Paradise" — received via Internet]

[FBIS Translated Text] As if this were a new version of the "Divine Comedy," violence has taken over society in Guerrero's Costa Grande, turning daily life into one more stage on a trip to hell. The murders of eight people on the El Paraiso Ejido this past 19 February, presumably at the hands of the State Judicial Police, and three days later, the populace's angry response to the attempt to "arrest" a woman, are merely the latest episode in a long history of public insecurity and government abuse.

Although the final outcome is the same, the violence on the Costa Grande has at least five different sources: the intolerance of the caciques, backed by the state government; the abuse and impunity of the police; the kidnapping industry; drug trafficking; and the self-defense of the people. All of them have helped make one of the municipalities of Guerrero, Atoyac de Alvarez, the most conflict- and violence-ridden area in the region. Death after death: the murders of today must be added to the deaths and disappearances, the arrests and tortures of just 20 years ago. Atoyac is a land of widows and orphans in a war that is a vivid presence in the collective memory. If the dirty war waged by the Federal Army and the security forces against the guerrillas in the 1970's was felt anywhere, it was in Atoyac. Many locals feel a burning resentment over these injustices, and they are personified by a single individual: Ruben Figueroa. The appointment of his son as governor of the state was a bitter and painful affront, and the man who is now governor has taken it upon himself to feed the resentment day after day, making the social conflicts front-page news.

This violence does, then, have roots. The most recent precedent was as recent as May 1967, when a conflict ostensibly related to school issues prompted the "masters of the mountains" to send in the police and caciques to massacre the population of Atoyac. The leader of that movement, Lucio Cabanas, threatened with death, was forced to go into hiding in the mountains to organize what started out as a self-defense force and ended up as a political-military organization. When his guerrillas kidnapped the PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party] candidate years later, in May 1974, a new bloodbath sent the households of the region into mourning once again.

Since that time, new cycles of struggle have occurred intermittently, combining the development of self-managing peasant organizations seeking to control the production process with civic movements striving for municipal democracy and fighting cacique power. Time and again, these attempts have run up against the violence of local interest groups.

Given this state of affairs, one of the first actions Jose Francisco Ruiz Massieu took as governor (1987) was to impose a spurious National Peasant Confederation (CNC) board of directors on the Alfredo V. Bonfil Ejido Union, the heart of the democratic organization of farmers in the region. The same fate awaited initiatives to democratize the municipality in the 1990 elections. The citizens of Atoyac were the victims of fraud and coercion. Their short-lived pluralistic Municipal Council was able to reverse the situation temporarily, but when it was recalled and new municipal authorities more amenable to the local power groups were installed, the police put down the protests violently, shouting, "Here is your democracy ...!"

As Armando Bartra has pointed out, this arduous constructive effort by the citizenry has been plagued by the need to confront periodic violence. One after another, the small advances in popular organization and democratic representation have run up against the repression that local interest groups linked to the powers that be in the state have been able to exercise with absolute impunity. Under these conditions, in which leadership, social mediation, and the very fabric of society are subject to constant assaults, the violence has been able to germinate at an unprecedented level of complexity.

As if that were not enough, the crisis in the local agrarian-based economy, precipitated in part by the decline in the prices of coffee and cattle and the rise in the cost of credit, has made Guerrero fertile ground for drug trafficking and kidnapping. These phenomena can flourish only with the complicity of those who are really in power, however. The local population has pointed out repeatedly that the public security forces are hardly innocent bystanders in either of these activities.

In this context, in which the rule of law is practically nonexistent, the social struggle has become radicalized, and more and more prominent members of society have concluded that there is no alternative but to take justice into their own hands. The old system of peasant production organizations has collapsed, and new forces have begun to emerge, sometimes as offshoots of the older associations.

As we saw in the video on the massacre of Aguas Blancas that was shown on commercial television, this violence is basically a product of the cacique power relationships and the role of the local police. And the governor of the state, through his acts of omission and commission, is involved as well.

Ruben Figueroa must leave if the hell in Guerrero is to come to an end. In the worst of cases, he is responsible for the climate that prevails in his state; in the best of cases, he is incapable of resolving the situation. His resignation as governor will not provide an instant solution, but if he remains, the problem will be impossible to solve.

## Mexico: Zedillo Response to Guerrero Pressure Seen

*96CA0124A Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 5 Mar 96*

[Editorial: "Steps Yet To Be Taken" — received via Internet]

[FBIS Translated Text] After a number of repeated appeals by social, civil, and political organizations, President Ernesto Zedillo has asked Mexico's Supreme Court of Justice to investigate the serious violations of constitutional protections in the case of the massacre in Aguas Blancas, Guerrero.

This request was made yesterday, while the governor of Guerrero State, Ruben Figueroa, appealed to the court to urge it not to intervene.

The well-known difference between the federal executive and the Guerrero State government has reached political proportions, although it is of lesser importance from a legal viewpoint. For Figueroa's unwillingness to have the highest court in the republic take over the investigation cannot prevent action on the part of the Supreme Court justices who, according to the Constitution, cannot reject the president's request.

The president's decision implies an acknowledgment that the investigation by the special investigator appointed by the Guerrero State Congress is, to say the least, inadequate, and that another inquiry needs to be carried out to establish the legal truth of the Aguas Blancas case.

The Supreme Court of Justice will have to appoint the person or persons to conduct the investigation. This means that the high court has now been given responsibility for a matter that has greatly aroused the national conscience, especially after the transmission of the video taped by the state government. This tape was not released in its entirety for almost eight months.

Public opinion, expressed in highly diverse ways, has won a victory in the battle against impunity and for the impartial rule of law. It is to be hoped that the Supreme Court will appoint the most suitable persons, people capable of assembling the resources needed to conduct the inquiry, despite the fact that this court does not itself have the customary resources needed to conduct investigations, a function which the Constitution grants to it only in exceptional cases.

It is now irrelevant to debate whether the president's decision is too little or too late. The most important fact is that public opinion has caused the people's indignation to prevail and that the federal government has been sensitive to this, which is highly promising.

The demand for justice is not related solely to the need to pursue those who have criminally abused the public offices which they hold, but also to establish in Mexico the dominance of law above the old mechanisms of arbitrary rule and impunity which have damaged our society.

The charges against Ruben Figueroa are very serious and grave. The fact that he is the governor cannot be an obstacle causing justice to be disregarded and the Constitution to be ignored. The sovereignty of the states is not above the Constitution; instead, their sovereignty is a product of this Constitution. Public officials, no matter how high their office may be, must be subject to the supreme law of the land, for that is one of the essential definitions of the republican character of Mexico.

Ruben Figueroa has publicly protected the actual perpetrators of this massacre and has altered evidence of the crime, which is punishable by law. As governor, he is responsible not only for his actions but also for his omissions, and he must, therefore, answer to the regular judicial system and to the constitutional organs of Mexico which are responsible for public prosecution.

Both a criminal proceeding and some political implications might arise from the Supreme Court's investigation. The Office of the Public Prosecutor, along with the local legislative authority and judiciary of Guerrero will have to deal with the first matter, and the second will be dealt with by the National Congress and/or the State Congress. So the problem still remains complicated, as Guerrero's attorney general serves under the governor, and the majority of the local deputies are unwilling to challenge Ruben Figueroa.

For these reasons, the fact that the Supreme Court is investigating the Aguas Blancas massacre is no guarantee that justice will function normally after the court presents its report, if this report contains some indication of responsibility on the part of Guerrero's governor.

This means that, along with the Supreme Court's work, political action will be required to prevent Figueroa's local political "machine" from putting pressure on the political and judicial organs of Guerrero and preventing the application of the law.

If the Mexican political system tends to continue to enthrone absolute political bosses in the states, acting under a misreading of what federalism should be, these local caciques will eventually trample upon the national Constitution and the operation of the institutions of the republic, both state and national institutions.

The Aguas Blancas case contains elements that go beyond the essential pursuit of the masterminds of this crime and of their accessories who acted to cover up the facts. This case is also a test of a political and constitutional character against two harmful tendencies: the old centralism and the new feudalization of the nation. The urgent reform of the Mexican state must divorce itself completely from those two extremes, and emphasize the national character, and at the same time, the federative character of Mexico, under the dominance of the highest values of a democratic republic.

In this context, the Supreme Court's intervention seems to be beneficial, but it is necessary to point out that even so, political obstacles with judicial implications still remain to be dealt with before justice can make its full force felt in the case of the criminal massacre in Aguas Blancas.

## El Salvador

### El Salvador: President on Human Rights, Police Efforts

*PA0903031296 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSU in Spanish 1800 GMT 8 Mar 96*

[Report by Douglas Mejia from the "YSU Radio News" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Alluding to a report on the human rights situation in El Salvador during 1995 prepared by the U.S. Department of State and disclosed by the U.S. Embassy in El Salvador, President Armando Calderon Sol said today it is unfair to cast doubt on the effort by the PNC [National Civilian Police] to respect human rights:

[Begin Calderon Sol recording] I think the people involved in misrepresenting our institutions do us much harm. It is very clear to us that the PNC is making a tremendous effort to fight crime and criminal gangs. It is unfair to accuse the PNC of violating human rights. The PNC will continue to fight crime whether or not the sponsors of pseudo-groups who defend human rights like it. [end recording]

The report questions in particular certain PNC actions that are out of order, according to new PNC director, Rodrigo Avila:

[Begin Avila recording] Human rights violations have been reported. Obviously, no one, neither the Army nor anyone else, has violated human rights, but for this reason any charges must be filed with the police if warranted, because it is the only institution in charge of enforcing the law. Some of the reports received and some of the ideas and concepts presented therein are considerably old. There has been great improvement in the police. The PNC's procedures, cooperation with other organizations, and effectiveness have improved. It can be observed that our police have been learning and developing more and more. It is necessary to consider when the report was prepared, how long it took to be prepared, and how long it took to be presented. [end recording]

The U.S. Department of State says the PNC still uses excessive force and makes procedural errors when it makes arrests. In March of last year, El Salvador was taken off a UN list of countries that have violated human rights the most, but certain criticisms still persist.

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### El Salvador: President Views U.S. Report as 'Unfair'

*PA1003015396 San Salvador EL DIARIO DE HOY in Spanish 9 Mar 96 p 7*

[From "the Editor's Office"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the opinion of President Armando Calderon Sol, the U.S. State Department's human rights report that points to the National Civilian Police [PNC] as the institution about which most complaints have been received, is "unfair."

Calderon Sol said the PNC is making efforts and for this reason charges that it violates human rights are unfair.

He said: "The PNC will continue making efforts no matter if the groups that allegedly defend human rights like it or not, because the human rights that must be respected are the human rights of the population."

The report, made known this past Wednesday, informs that of 4,696 complaints received by the Office of the Human Rights Ombudsman, 1,844 were against the police. Of these complaints, 172 were resolved.

Most of the complaints against the PNC deal with the use of excess force in controling demonstrations. The report notes that this situation is much improved.

As PNC Director Rodrigo Avila sees it, the police are not exempt from committing errors, "but the tone of the report is faulty because in the past few days the PNC has been effective and procedures have been perfected."

Avila said the report contains the opinion of one person and does not mention everything that the PNC is doing right.

He said: "Some of the events and situations listed in the report are outdated."

Right now, Avila added, PNC procedures and the PNC's coordination with other institutions have improved.

Meanwhile, Supreme Court President Domingo Mendez noted that it has been said that courts of justice release criminals put at the courts' disposition by organizations such as the PNC. Mendez explained that such an opinion is somewhat erratic.

"What they do not consider," he said, "is whether the prisoners are being taken to court with enough evidence to justify their arrest."

The main reason for the release of prisoners is procedural and procedures are the product of reforms to the codes. Many experts believe that the law, which right now favors criminals and leaves the citizens unprotected, should be revised.

Human Rights Ombudswoman Marina de Aviles said that institutions are making significant efforts to correct errors, such as giving psychological tests to riot policemen, a PNC requirement nowadays.

## Nicaragua

### Nicaragua: 'Deep Concern' Expressed Over PRC Exercises

*PA0903010896 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2326 GMT 8 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Managua, 8 Mar (ACAN-EFE) — The Nicaraguan Government stated today, Friday, its "deep concern" over the military exercises and missile launchings being carried out by the PRC near Taiwan's coasts.

The Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry issued a press note in which it states that the launching of missiles has occurred "a few miles from two of the most important cities" in Taiwan.

The Managua Government reasserted through the note that "the use, or the threat of the use, of force is inadmissible in international relations."

Given the possibility that these "threats" may cause a conflict of unpredictable consequences, the Nicaraguan Government "urges the two governments to resume the rounds of talks they have held," the note adds.

The two nations have held talks through the "Association for Relations Across the Strait of Taiwan" in the PRC and the "Foundation for Exchange Across the Strait of Taiwan" in Taiwan.

## Panama

### Panama: President, Fujimori Criticize U.S. Certification

*PA0803140396 Panama City EL UNIVERSAL DE PANAMA in Spanish 7 Mar 96 p 1*

[Report by Justino Gonzalez, Jr.]

[FBIS Translated Text] Panamanian President Ernesto Perez Balladares and his Peruvian colleague Alberto Fujimori yesterday rejected the U.S. practice to certify countries on their drug fighting efforts and agreed that the mechanism should be abolished.

Fujimori was the first to publicly criticize these certifications during a news conference, in which he affirmed that "no country in the world has the right to impose unilateral measures on another country and directly hurt the welfare of its people." Colombia and other countries were declared by Washington as countries that do not cooperate in the war on drugs. Decertification involves the stripping of U.S. aid to that country from the U.S. foreign aid program.

Fujimori said that decertification, in Colombia's case, hurts the Colombian economy and investments. He proposed that Latin American countries reciprocate and certify multilaterally that the United States is not controlling drug imports. Perez Balladares revealed that he made remarks to Fujimori during their conversations, more as a joke than seriously, that the countries subject to U.S. certification should unite and grade the efforts of the drug consuming countries to counter drug use.

The two presidents also signed a joint declaration and bilateral agreements to fight drugs and achieve further cooperation in the field of tourism.

### Panama: President Criticizes U.S. on Certification, Cuba

*PA1103035196 Paris AFP in Spanish 1802 GMT 9 Mar 96*

[By Santiago Piedra]

[FBIS Translated Text] Trujilo, Peru, 9 Mar (AFP) — Panama's president, Ernesto Perez Balladares, on Saturday criticized the United States for certifying or decertifying countries on their performance in fighting drug trafficking and for intensifying the trade embargo against Cuba.

In an interview with AFP during a visit to the museum housing the Central Reserve Bank of Peru in the hot city of Trujillo, the president mentioned the toughening of the trade blockade against Cuba following approval of the Helms-Burton legislation by the U.S. House of Representatives. Trujillo is the venue for the eighth summit of Andean Pact presidents

"We have always upheld the view that the topic of Cuba and the United States is a bilateral problem between the two countries. We respect the independence of bilateral criteria on this topic," Perez Balladares said.

Nevertheless, he added, "I cannot help but worry about how this matter has been conducted over the past week. I mean, this new law being approved in the U.S. Congress places us Latin Americans and citizens of the world under a type of subjugation to laws of a state that is not ours."

"It seems unacceptable to me from every point of view that attempts are being made through legislation to influence the behavior of citizens of third countries. As a result, this concern is latent in our country, also in the Andean Group, and is the same in all the world's independent countries," the president said.

Regarding U.S. certification and decertification of world countries regarding the fight against drug trafficking, Perez Balladares said this matter is "still a bilateral topic obviously between Washington and whatever person or country being certified or decertified."

Nevertheless, he said, "we, the countries which, unfortunately, are transit countries, such as ours, or producer countries, which could be Peru or Bolivia, should also conform a jury to enable us to judge the behavior of consumer countries and what they have done within their borders and within their economies to lower levels of consumption."

"We should also be able to certify or decertify this effort, something which we should all do jointly," he added. According to the Panamanian president, the certification or noncertification "is not what is going to solve the drug problem. The drug problem will be solved the day we agree to try not to blame one another, not to recriminate one another, and to form a work group, an information exchange group, to allow us to design operations to allow us to eradicate the problem."

On another subject, Perez Balladares said the transfer of the Panama Canal from the United States to the Panamanian Government "is going very well. It is timely, on schedule, and doing very well."

"I believe we are going to have what Panamanians and the rest of the users hope for; that is, a transition in the year 2000 that will go virtually unnoticed by the rest of the world," he said.

On the corruption afflicting Latin American nations, Perez Balladares said that as far as he is concerned, there is a determination by all regional governments to fight it and to do "what is in our reach to prevent corrupt people from receiving asylum within our borders."

### Panama: Foreign Ministry Criticizes U.S. Measures on Cuba

*PA0803172396 Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish 8 Mar 96 p 2*

[Report by Manuel Alvarez Cedeno]

[FBIS Translated Text] Panama believes the Helms-Burton Bill, designed to tighten the embargo on Cuba, "ignores the principle of respect for the states, as it attributed an extraterritorial nature to a country's domestic legislation."

The United States intensified the economic sanctions on Cuba after Cuban fighter planes downed two planes of an anti-Castro group that were overflying the coasts of the island nation.

The Helms-Burton Law was conceived to scare foreign investors away from Cuba, and received on Wednesday the support of an overwhelming majority of the U.S. Senate. In addition, it won the approval of President Bill Clinton.

A communique points out that the Panamanian Foreign Ministry has indicated that Panama is conducting extensive consultations with the members of the Rio Group to issue "a categorical and strong statement" on this legislation which even violates the norms and principles that regulate the WTO." [quotation marks as published]

Regarding this topic, Deputy Foreign Minister Omar Jaen said that the conflict between the United States and Cuba on the intensification of the economic sanctions against Havana does not concern Panama, because this matter must be resolved by the two conflicting nations.

Jaen stated that "Panama believes the relations between the United States and Cuba are a matter that concerns the two [countries];" therefore, the tightening of the embargo should be "dealt with and resolved" by them.

Jaen recalled that "we have excellent ties of friendship and cooperation with the United States, as well as very good relations with Cuba;" therefore, "we believe the tightening of the embargo is an issue that they must deal with and resolve between themselves."

Republican Newt Gingrich, speaker of the House of Representatives, remarked that the legislation against Cuba sends a clear message that Washington will not negotiate with the Castro regime." [quotation marks as published]

The Panamanian diplomat believes the main duty of the Panamanian Foreign Ministry is "to win friends for Panama and keep the friends we have."

Jaen reiterated that Panama does not believe that it should be "meddling in the affairs and conflicts that concern two nations, which is why we remain on the sidelines."

"We are an open country that wants to maintain ties of friendship and cooperation with all nations," he emphasized.

Meanwhile, Trade Minister Nitzia Villarreal said that Panama's economic development should not be subjected "to political problems removed from our reality."

## Panama: Free Zone Manager Says Trade With Cuba To Continue

*PA0803140096 Panama City EL PANAMA AMERICA in Spanish 6 Mar 96 p 1*

[Report by Juan Manuel Diaz C.]

[FBIS Translated Text] Colon Free Zone Manager Victoria Figge has stated that the Free Zone plans to continue its trade ties with Cuba despite a warning by the United States over possible sanctions against countries that maintain trade relations with Cuba. Figge said that this legislation, which has yet to be approved by the U.S. government, should not hurt Panama's trade relations with Cuba, despite talk of possible sanctions against those countries that maintain trade links with Cuba.

## Argentina

### Argentina: Menem Urges People To Avoid 'Confrontation'

*PY0803211996 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1847 GMT 8 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Buenos Aires, 8 Mar (NA) — President Carlos Menem has made a call "to avoid any type of confrontation that might hurt the country" and place Argentina "at a disadvantage with respect to the United Kingdom."

This position was stressed today by the head of state, who talked about the need "to continue negotiating in order to fulfill what is established in the treaty on oil and gas exploration in the South Atlantic and so that we might reach an agreement on fishing."

The president insisted that the "dialogue" with the United Kingdom "continues, because it was never severed," adding that relations with that nation "continue at the same levels." The president recognized, however, that "a little tension provoked by the incidents known by all" remains. [passage omitted]

Menem repeated that the government is trying to convince fishing companies "not to pay fishing rights" for fishing in international waters around South Georgia Island.

"The entire region, all the territorial waters, belong to Argentina," Menem emphasized.

The president said that we "must continue presenting our claim whenever appropriate," in places such as "international forums, the United Nations, the UN Security Council, and even the OAS."

The president added that his attitude is based on the fact that "the incident is unfolding in territorial waters that belong to the Americas, not to England."

Chief of Cabinet Eduardo Bauza, in turn, characterized current Argentine-UK relations as "tense" as a consequence of the fishing incident and confirmed that Foreign Minister Guido Di Tella will continue in his post. "These are not the last days he will be in his post as foreign minister," Bauza emphasized. [passage omitted]

### Argentina: Government Repeats Call Not To Pay UK Fees

*PY0803210396 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1057 GMT 8 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Buenos Aires, 8 Mar (NA) — Cabinet members have confirmed their call "to all Argentine flagged ships not to pay fees" to fish in the South Georgia zone. The requirement to pay a fee was a unilateral decision established by the United Kingdom.

At the end of a meeting at the Olivos presidential residence, Interior Minister Carlos Corach said cabinet members analyzed all the implications of suspending President Carlos Menem's trip to the United Kingdom indefinitely or "until conditions are appropriate."

Corach ruled out the possibility of a severing of diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom as a consequence of the incident provoked by a British frigate that threatened an Argentine flagged ship fishing black hake in the zone.

The minister insisted that the government issued "precise instructions to Argentine private companies not to pay any fee or obtain any license to fish in the zone" because the area is under Camelar [Convention on the Conservation of Antarctic Live Marine Resources] jurisdiction.

Corach, as cabinet spokesman, said: "Private companies must decide whether to go into the conflict zone. The risk is theirs." [passage omitted]

Asked about the consequences for a company that decided to fish in the conflict zone, Corach said: "We cannot anticipate that yet," recalling that the Fishing Secretariat issued instructions on the problem to all fishing companies.

When asked about the possibility of an Argentine ship being forced to pay the fee, the interior minister said: "We must not speculate about things that still did not happen," although explaining that "if an armored ship demands the payment of a fee, obviously, the fishing ship will have to withdraw." [passage omitted]

### Argentina: Dispute Said Settled Over Chilean Border Area

*PY0803215796 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 2249 GMT 7 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Buenos Aires, 7 Mar (NA) — The Foreign Ministry has reported that the judgment favoring Argentina in the Laguna del Desierto border dispute with Chile was "formally, materially, and completely affirmed" today by the Arbitration Court that met in the Brazilian city of Rio de Janeiro.

The Arbitration Court met in Rio de Janeiro today to definitively settle the controversy on the Patagonia territory by handing down a unanimous resolution, enforcing the 21 October 1994 ruling that favored Argentina.

The Arbitration Court comprised Rafael Nieto Navia, Reynaldo Pohl, Pedro Nikken, Julio Barberis, and Santiago Benadava, who, after confirming the Argentine sovereignty over Laguna del Desierto, dissolved the Arbitration Court.

The judgment passed on 21 October 1994 fully approved the Argentine position on the dispute and recognized that the border line passes between Landmark No. 62 and Mt. Fitzroy.

On 31 January 1995, the Chilean Government filed an appeal against the judgment. The appeal was rejected by the Arbitration Court on 13 October 1995.

The step preceding the Arbitration Court's affirmation of judgement was taken on 11 and 12 January when the Cerro Gorra Blanca and Mt. Fitzroy landmarks, which were formally declared natural land marks, were set up.

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### Argentina: Russian Delegation Seeks Enhanced Military Ties

*PY1003024396 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 2323 GMT 8 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Buenos Aires, 8 Mar (TELAM) — A Russian Defense Ministry delegation concluded an official visit to Argentina today. The members of the Russian delegation held meetings with Argentine authorities with a view to enhancing military technical cooperation and exchanges.

The Defense Ministry has issued a communique reporting that the Russian Federation delegation headed by Major General Sergey Svechnikov, chairman of the State Committee for Military-Technical Police, and Jorge Baeza, Defense Ministry military affairs secretary, analyzed areas of bilateral cooperation.

The communique points out that "the parties have agreed to study the possibility of establishing a regional center in Argentina to train air crew in subjects like use and maintenance of airliner equipment made in Russia through leasing [preceding word in English] contracts."

The communique noted that in the course of the meetings they held, both parties manifested their interest in cooperating in military and civil defense areas, such as fire extinction and emergency tasks, logistic equipment, and road engineering.

The Defense Ministry further states that "the parties shared their interest in furthering cooperation endeavors in the area of technology transfer and scientific and technical research to be applied to the manufacture of new types of weapons and military materiel."

The Defense Ministry added that "Argentina showed willingness to study the offers of weaponry and military materiel made by the Russian state-run company Rosvooruzheniye during the talks."

The Russian delegation came to Argentina to reciprocate the visit the Argentine delegation headed by Baeza made to Moscow last year.

During its stay in Buenos Aires, the members of the Russian delegation met with Lieutenant General Mario Candido Diaz, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and with Lieutenant General Martin Balza, Army chief of staff.

Other meetings on the Russian delegation's agenda included a courtesy visit to Interior Minister Carlos Corach; Admiral Enrique Molina Pico, Navy chief of staff; and Fernando Petrella, Foreign Ministry foreign policy director general.

The visitors were also received by Brigadier Jorge Gimenez, Air Force deputy chief of staff; Timar Musumeci, National Border Police commander general; Coast Guard Commander General Jorge Maggi; and General Juan Andreoli, head of the General Directorate of Military Industries.

The visiting delegation toured Regiment No.601 Campo de Mayo Aviation Group, and the Armed Forces Scientific and Technical Research Center (Citefa).

Maj. Gen. Svechnikov, 42, is a radio-electronic engineer and speaks English and Spanish. He graduated from the Diplomatic Academy in 1987 and worked for the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations of the Russian Federation.

## Brazil

### Brazil: Cardoso Says Japan Visit 'Important' for Economy

*PY0903033096 Brasilia Voz do Brasil Network in Portuguese 2200 GMT 8 Mar 96*

[Report by Lourival Macedo at Planalto Palace]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] President Fernando Henrique Cardoso said his trip to Japan is important for the Brazilian economy.

President Cardoso leaves for Japan on 9 March. He will leave from Brasilia Air Force Base, where he will transfer the presidency to Vice President Marco Maciel during a short ceremony. This is President Cardoso's 19th trip abroad. He said that this visit is important to help Brazil profit from the favorable disposition of the Japanese economy:

[Begin Cardoso recording] I will go to Japan tomorrow. I am very tranquil about the trip because we will be making an important trip for the country. There will be more investment and we will make it better known abroad what is being done in the country. The Japanese economy has a very favorable disposition toward our country. [end recording] [passage omitted]

In Japan, President Cardoso hopes to obtain a $1.6-billion loan and investment for import-export infrastructure. As a result of the visit, Toyota will probably announce the installation of a car manufacturing plant in Brazil.

President Cardoso will probably also help in the effort the Brazilian agricultural and livestock areas are making in order to facilitate Brazilian beef and fruit exports. Currently, Japan is only importing cupim [the hump on the shoulder of Zebu cattle], already cooked, for fear of contamination with hoof and mouth disease.

### Brazil: Article Views Closer Japanese Ties With Mercosur

*PY0903190096 Sao Paulo GAZETA MERCANTIL in Portuguese 6 Mar 96 p A6*

[Article by Maria Helena Tachinardi in Brasilia]

[FBIS Translated Text] Japan wants to create a formal mechanism for consultation with the Common Market of the South [Mercosur]. The Japanese Government announced this decision to Argentine Foreign Minister Guido Di Tella a few days ago. Argentina will preside the Mercosur until June. Last week, the Japanese foreign minister confirmed his country's interest in this regard during a visit to Tokyo by Ambassador Jose Botafogo Goncalves, deputy secretary of Itamaraty [Brazilian Foreign Ministry] for integration, foreign trade, and economic affairs.

"This shows that Japan does not want to remain isolated in this reorganization of the international economy, in which trade blocks are being redefined," Botafogo Goncalves analyzed. On 26 and 27 February, he attended in Tokyo a seminar about Asian and Latin American emerging economies, which was sponsored by the Japanese Government. Ten countries were invited, Brazil, Argentina, Colombia, Mexico, and Chile among them. The following Asian countries also attended the seminar: Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, and the ROK.

Those who attended the meeting stated that these ten nations will have a dynamic role in the international economy in the next 20 years. What has been impossible to understand, however, is whether these two regions will indeed make up a trade block in the future. Nevertheless, it can't be denied that Japan wants to join the economy and trade of the Mercosur member countries. The Japanese officials will convey this interest to President Fernando Henrique Cardoso during his visit to Tokyo from 12 to 15 March.

Ambassador Botafogo Goncalves, who met members of the Eximbank, the Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund, and the Japan Internationaol Cooperation Agency, said: "There is optimism and enthusiasm in Japan with regard to Brazil. The Eximbank vice president has highly praised the Brazilian economic reforms. I told him, however, that the most difficult part will begin now and that it consists of consolidating the progress achieved in macroeconomic administration. This consolidation requires great effort and hard work. It is easier to force the inflation rate from almost 5,000 percent per year to 20 percent per year than to reduce it to the 10 or 5 percent levels." The diplomat added: "They laughed when I said that now it is necessary to have 1 percent inspiration and 99 percent perspiration, and added that the same thing must now occur in Japan."

The Japanese Government believes that there are two dynamic areas in the world: the Asian and Latin American economies. "They believe that the Mercosur is the most dynamic center in our region and that Brazil is the Mercosur's main member country," Botafogo Goncalves pointed out.

The Mercosur will examine the Japanese proposal still this month, in meetings to be held simultaneously with the meeting of the foreign trade ministers of 34 countries of the Americas, which will be held on 20 and 21 March in Cartagena de las Indias, Colombia. This will be the second meeting held to advance in the establishment of a free-trade area in the continent. The first one was held in Denver (United States) last year. The third one may be held in Belo Horizonte (Minas Gerais) if the other coutries approve the suggestion Brazil will propose in Cartagena de las Indias.

On 7 and 8 March, the deputy trade ministers of the 34 countries will prepare the meeting, which will have two main goals: to evaluate the functioning of the work groups (access to markets, antidumping measures, subsidies and compensatory rights, smaller economies, regime of origin, technical barriers, plant-health control barriers, and investment) during the last seven months, and to define how the other four groups that have already been comprised will function. These new work groups will discuss intellectual property, services, government purchases, and competitors' defense. In the meeting, the countries that will coordinate these topics will also be chosen.

By mid-April, the Mercosur will also take another step forward in its relations with Asia. In the Australian city of Wellington, Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay will meet with representatives from Australia and New Zealand for the first time. The two latter countries comprise an association entitled Closer Economic Relations [CER].

The Mercosur member countries will not discuss tariff reduction with the CER or Japan. According to Botafogo Goncalves, it is still too early to discuss free-trade zones. Initially, the talks will be held about the evolution of Mercosur trade, as well as their countries' trade. Later on, "the way Mercosur and Asia will relate in the future will be discussed."

The ambassador thinks that it is important to evaluate the Japanese position regarding productive direct investment in the Mercosur countries. In Tokyo, he also requested the Japanese Government's support for the waiver [preceding word in English] Brazil is requesting before the WTO in order to implement the automotive regime provisional measure. Japan and the ROK are the countries that criticize the measure most and that do not seem willing to favor Brazil's position in the WTO.

Botafogo Goncalves revealed that the Mercosur "is ready" to hold dialogue with NAFTA, which is comprised of the United States, Mexico, and Canada, although this still has not been possible "due to Mexico's objection."

### Brazil: Foreign Minister Views UN Security Council

*PY0803190796 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 7 Mar 96 Section 1 p 10*

[Article by Paulo Silva Pinto]

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Luiz Felipe Lampreia has said the Brazilian Government no longer views a reform of the UN Security Council with the same concern as in the past.

Brazil has been defending an increase in the number of permanent UN Security Council members. Brazil is interested in becoming a member, a claim that has never been stated officially.

Lampreia said that it is more important for Brazil to participate in organizations that deal with economic matters like the World Bank and the IMF.

Lampreia said: "Becoming a permanent member of the UN Security Council would be like an ISO [International Standardization Organization] 9000 certificate for Brazil. It would benefit Brazilian companies but now the international economic forums are more important."

The permanent members of the UN Security Council are the United States, Russia, the PRC, France, and the United Kingdom. They have veto power on UN decisions and can define economic sanctions against countries that violate peace.

UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali said in Brasilia last week that the reform of the UN Security Council will not be simple and will take several years.

### Brazil: Ambassador Comments on Defense Policy

*PY0903230596 Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 7 Mar 96 p A2*

[Commentary by Ambassador Ronaldo Mota Sardenberg, head of the Strategic Affairs Secretariat of the Presidency of the Republic: "Strategic Integration and National Defense"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is important to discuss the national defense policy and other topics related to the strategic integration of the country in the international order. The initiative O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO took in this regard in the last few weeks is more than welcome and deserves commentaries that will probably be complemented later on.

Those who observe and partake in the political process related to national defense will have — each from their own viewpoint — different opinions about the issue. After all, the issue is complex and full of antecedents and ramifications. We are all aware of this panorama. In two occasions, I outlined in Sao Paulo — just outlined — some ideas regarding this ample topic. I made this outline with the conscious intention of stimulating debate on the issue.

Today's discussion, however, is naturally determined by the historic roots of the national defense problem. Brazil traditionally deals with defense policy issues in a minor key. The same way and for various reasons — historic and cultural — the country's strategic position is always defensive, i.e., placed inside the national territory. It avoids, and for good reasons, being projected abroad. The entities that are responsible for accompanying, permanently, what is happening in our region and in the rest of the world, however, are never negligent.

In essence, the national defense policy has been based on the need to protect the country's territory and to ensure the inviolability of the borders, be it in times of peace or of conflict. In recent years, there has been concern over the defense of the democratic state, treated as a conquest of Brazilian society. Simultaneously, as a result of the worsening economic situation, the economic factors have become increasingly more present in determining which resources should be earmarked for the defense area. We all know about the budget limitations that have been adopted and are aware that they were unavoidable.

Closer to our days, once the democracy was consolidated, the country began the basic reorganization of relations between civilians and the Brazilian military area. We frequently hear the voices of some people who are melancholic about the past and who hesitate in accompanying the changes that society has already implemented. We also hear the voice of some others who even doubt whether the Armed Forces should continue to exist. Among the first, there are irreconcilable attitudes that seem to have plans of preserving the hostility that characterized civilian-military relations in the past. Among the second group there are some who idealistically believe that we are in the threshold of a world without violence and with organized national administrations.

Despite the differences, the resumption of the civilian-military dialogue goes on and it represents a stabilizing factor. This is one of the political phenomena which, although it can be called subterranean, it is a symbol of what has changed in the country, and of the democratic mutations Brazilian society has been undergoing and will continue to experience.

The Strategic Affairs Secretariat [SAE] is in the center of this civilian-military circle, be it due to its origins or to the characteristics that the current administration has been granting it. The SAE's team will still have to be strengthened in order to allow it to fully comply with the functions it must perform in designing the national strategic conception, as well as the long- term development strategy.

Not accidentally, several organizations, including the National Defense Council (of which the SAE is the executive secretariat), have been concerned with the defense issue and all matters related to it. Not accidentally either, has the president of the Republic been worried about ensuring the entity the indispensable high-level coordination. Lastly, not accidentally has the exchange of opinion at other levels been quite frequent. This is how the all-encompassing importance of the issue and of the adequacy of granting those who are directly linked to it institutional opportunities of expressing themselves and of exchanging ideas is reflected.

This discussion and coordination process tends to become deeper and improved. Therefore, the SAE, the Armed Forces General Staff, the three military ministries, and the Itamaraty [Brazilian Foreign Ministry] have been working intensely and harmoniously with the Planning Ministry in the portion of the multiyear plan [PPA] (1996-1999) that refers to national defense. This joint action must continue in the process of updating and reviewing the PPA.

A correct way of dealing with defense issues makes us distinguish between the short and long terms. As it is indicated in the PPA that is currently being debated at Congress, the administration is willing to invest in the modernization of the country's defense some 10.6 billion reals in the next three years. The following are the typically military actions contemplated in the PPA:

— Implementation of the System for Military Communications Through Satellite;

— Development and implementation of the Military Command and Control System;

— Organization of a permanent Peace Force;

— Strengthening of military presence in the Amazon Region;

— Organization of the Army and Navy Prompt-Use Force;

— Revitalization of the Air Space Control System;

— Improvement of the Air Safety System effectiveness;

— Introduction of modern features in the ground force.

These are the program's basic lines for most immediate implementation. It is true that, if necessary, the emphasis on the terms or contents of the program will be modified. The international situation has been changing swiftly and unpredictably. Due to its territorial location in South America and the extension of its borders, Brazil cannot run the risk of overlooking its strategies. In addition, due to the long time required for the military projects to mature, it will be necessary to begin discussing, right away, what will be the profile of our national defense policy at the beginning of the 21st century.

Finally, we could not think of a national defense policy that is dissociated from its really civilian angles. The military program will be complemented with other initiatives, such as the one that is currently being implemented in the Amazon Region and the border regions. which require urgent revitalization. In the subregion at the north of the Amazon River, for example, there are especially acute demographic gaps, created interests, an increasing number of across-the-border crimes, as well as problems stemming from the need to expand our national jurisdiction. There are undoubtedly other areas farther south, however, such as those of the Javari and Guapore Rivers, that are also cause for concern. The country's diversity will increasingly force reflections about the national defense policy to take into consideration not only the country's geographic totality, but also specific concerns about our large regions.

### Brazil: Loyola's 'Confession' Said Not To Affect Cardoso

*PY0903212696 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 6 Mar 96 Section 1 p 5*

[Commentary by Janio Freitas: "Official Confession"]

[FBIS Translated Text] One only question was enough for Central Bank [BC] Director Gustavo Loyola to hand the gold of the bandits, and not to the bandits. Here is the dialogue held right after Loyola ended his beating around the bush testimony in order to gain time:

Question: In your testimony you said that the Proer [Program to Encourage the Reorganization and Strengthening of the National Financial System], the program that is allegedly used to reorganize the banks, has already used 5.890 billion reals [R]. To help how many banks?

Loyola: Only one.

Question: Which one?

Loyola: The Nacional Bank.

This is the question Deputy Benito Gama asked on 5 March, and which on 3 March was considered in this column as sufficiently good evidence to prove, before Congress, that the Proer had been created by Fernando Henrique Cardoso as part of a provisional measure drafted until very late on a Saturday night in order to give the Nacional Bank owners the billions that would save them from the financial scandal.

After four months in force, the provisional measure which was created — according to the administration and to the president — to support banks with problems resulting from the end of high inflation rates, has only served the bank whose partner and director is Fernando Henrique Cardoso's daughter-in-law.

Loyola revealed a detail that has complemented his involuntary confirmation. He said that he learned, at the same as the Central Bank, about the Nacional Bank financial situation and frauds on 4 October, after a report made by Marcos Magalhaes Pinto, president of the Nacional Bank.

The drafting of the provisional measure, which has granted the administration the right to transfer R5.9 billion to the Nacional Bank, was completed only over the weekend of 4 November, one month after Marco Magalhaes Pinto made the report cited by Loyola. Therefore, the provisional measure was drafted and the billions of reals handed to the Nacional Bank when the Central Bank and Fernando Henrique Cardoso (according to information supplied by Loyola himself) already knew very well about the Nacional Bank's criminal financial fraud. If, at that moment of his testimony, somebody had handcuffed him and taken him in a police car to go and fetch the other authors of the promiscuous act that mixed public money, the Central Bank, and undue protection of people who commit frauds, it would have been possible to say that, in this story of undignified deeds and immorality, at least someone would have done something right.

Everything was settled, however, to end in accordance with the Brazilian style of nourishing impunity. Fernando Henrique Cardoso has now become a sponsor of this style as well. He, the prince. Loyola's confession will bring about no consequences because the prince's control over Congress, the media and journalists, the Attorney General's Office, and the highest-ranking members of the judicial branch is (still) unshakable.

This does not downgrade Loyola's generous gesture toward the country, which lended official qualities to some truths that were trying to break the siege they had been submitted to. Loyola deserves more gratitude still because, through his blundering confession, he has invalidated the training that congressmen who support the administration had given him until very late at night on 4 March, seeking to prevent him from saying something compromising.

To show the degree of degeneration reigning in Congress, we must say that one of Loyola's coaches was Senator Ney Suassuna, the very same congressman who commanded the testimony session. Suassuna was the one who ended up by being smacked in the face by Senator Antonio Carlos Magalhaes. I must say that the blow was well delivered (don't get me wrong, I'm referring to the aiming).

## Chile

### Chile: Insulza Says Helms-Burton Bill Violates Free Trade

*PY0803161296 Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 7 Mar 96 p A3*

[FBIS Translated Text] The Chilean Government yesterday conveyed its displeasure over the U.S. Senate approval of the Helms-Burton bill, which will tighten the U.S. trade embargo on Cuba following the Cuban downing of two U.S. civilian planes owned by Cuban exiles.

Chilean Foreign Minister Jose Miguel Insulza said: "We do not like this initiative because freedom of trade should not be curtailed by economic sanctions imposed by certain countries, and because it violates international laws governing free trade."

Different versions of the above bill had been approved a few months ago by the two houses of the U.S. Congress. The bill then appeared to be heading toward a presidential veto. It was resurrected on 24 February, when Cuban MIG fighter planes shot down the two U.S. planes, killing their four crew members.

The bill, which was approved yesterday by the U.S. House of Representatives, urges the President to promote an international embargo on Cuba and authorizes him to help the democratic movement inside Cuba.

The bill also seeks to discourage foreign investment in Cuba by leaving foreign investors in Cuba open to lawsuits for the use of property confiscated by the Castro regime during its 37-year rule.

During the Ibero-American summit in San Carlos de Bariloche, Argentina, in October 1995, the Latin American, Spanish, and Portuguese Governments already expressed disagreement with the U.S. initiative. In their final declaration, they stated their opposition to any form of economic pressure against any country. The EU has also rejected the U.S. initiative.

The bill, known as the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act, was proposed early this year by conservative Senator Jesse Helms and by Representative Dan Burton, both of them Republicans. It seeks to increase pressure on Castro to provoke his downfall and to democratize the Cuban political system.

If it becomes law, the bill would significantly affect nearly 40 countries which have invested about $1.5 billion in Cuba.

Cuba is now going through a gradual process of opening to foreign investments. At present, Cuba allows foreign investments in every area except health, education, and the Armed Forces; it authorizes the transfer of capital and profits abroad; it encourages the creation of mixed enterprises, but it allows businesses to be fully based on foreign capital.

Chilean investments in Cuba from 1990 to 1995 totaled more than $61 million. Cuba now ranks eighth among countries receiving Chilean investments.

Many Chilean entrepreneurs like Carlos Cardoen, who has invested in a company to market citrus fruits; and Felipe Velasco or Anselmo Sulme, who also have investments in Cuba, would be affected and could be the target of sanctions by the U.S. Government.

Chilean Ambassador to U.S. John Biehl has stated that the bill shows what some countries are capable of doing "amid the anger" provoked by an unjustifiable action such as the one perpetrated recently over the Caribbean. Biehl said, however, he is confidence the President will not sign the bill because it "would be very serious and would only show what a country, which is aware of its leading role on the international market, can do without considering the effects of its actions on third countries."

Biehl stated that Chileans should remain calm and wait for the dust to settle in Congress because the issue never enjoyed an overwhelming majority. He also urged the United States to reflect on the principles of international law it would violate through this bill.

Biehl added that every country has the sovereign right to choose its trade partners and that the United States should respect this right.

Several government officials will attend a political meeting today to discuss an amicable solution to this problem and to take an official position.

The issue will also be on the agenda of talks with U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry, who is scheduled to make an official visit to our country next week at the invitation of Defense Minister Edmundo Perez Yoma.

Biehl ruled out any possibility that this initiative is directly intended to hurt Chilean investors because entrepreneurs from many other countries have also made investments in Cuba.

It has been reported that the Chilean Government will also contact Washington through regular diplomatic channels.

### Chile: Businessmen Object To Helms-Burton Bill Approval

*PY0903031896 Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 8 Mar 96 p C5*

[FBIS Translated Text] The Chilean businessmen with investments in Cuba yesterday, like the government, voiced their objection to the U.S. Senate's approval of the Helms-Burton bill, which expands the existing embargo on Cuba. This measure is in response to the downing of two U.S. civilian aircraft piloted by Cubans living in exile.

Businessmen Carlos Cardoen and Max Marambio, whose investments on the island amount to $30 million, agreed that the bill to expand the embargo on the island is the mere continuation of a "terrorist" commercial and harassment policy that has been used for many years.

Deputy Andres Allamand, RN [National Renewal] chairman, asserted that despite the fact that Cuba requires an urgent and radical change of its political system, the unilateral imposition of economic sanctions that tend to have an extra-territorial effect and to affect third countries is not in keeping with the UN Charter.

Max Marambio, general manager of ING [expansion unknown] Holding, which owns various businesses in Cuba, explained: "Several years ago I was visited in Spain by U.S. officials and leaders of the Cuban-U.S. Foundation who tried to convince us not to support what they called the Castroist tyranny by not investing in Cuba."

Marambio asserted that this example shows that the United States has maintained a de facto and hostile policy at all levels toward Cuba. This policy has measures ranging from pressure exerted on the government to threats to businessmen, culminating with the House of Representative's approval of the Helms-Burton bill.

He added that the Clinton administration is not responsible for this policy, but rather other sectors that try to boycott the executive branch with electoral purposes. These "same sectors are responsible for aggravating this situation with the downing of the aircraft as a way to exert pressure on Castro's regime."

Countries such as Japan, Mexico, and Canada have adopted a policy that endorses investments in Cuba and have rejected this initiative as a result of their interest in trying to conquer areas of economic influence and control in the Caribbean.

Cuba offers very convenient investment terms due to the system of low taxes, as well as the fact that it still has virgin land, oil platforms, and minerals such as nickel, lead, and cobalt. Marambio said: "This is why the U.S. businessmen are desperate, because due to this absurd embargo (that was only approved by Israel, the United States, and Uzbekistan), they are losing investment possibilities in the zone. Moreover, this law has the double purpose of holding back foreigners to give the U.S. a head start in Cuba."

The Chilean businessman explained that a paragraph of this law states that it is a presidential function and, therefore, the President may use it as he pleases and according the foreign policy needs.

The Helms-Burton initiative freezes the possibilities of making deals in the United States, of having bank accounts in that country, dealing in dollars or obtaining a visa to enter that country. Moreover, it opens the possibility of being sued for using property confiscated from U.S. citizens by the Cuban Government during the Cuban revolution.

Businessman Carlos Cardoen, who has been working in Cuba for the past five years because he believes it is ideal for investments and to search for markets, said that the law against Cuba is the repetition of an imperialist and commercial terrorism policy resulting from the power its leadership gives it. After Foreign Minister Jose Miguel Insulza visited that island, the Chilean Government even signed an agreement to promote and protect investments with Cuba.

Cardoen said that he is "a victim of that terrorist policy because they have confiscated property I owned in the United States and for recovery of which I have had to pay $8.9 million, and a helicopter prototype that belongs to a great project involving the installation of a factory in Chile."

He added that he had been formally intimidated by the U.S. Government due to his investments in Cuba in an attempt to regulate and control affairs that do not concern them.

He said that the whole situation represents an antagonistic U.S. stance that, on the one hand, invites us to participate in a free trade agreement and, on the other, implements obstacles to free exchange. He added that this happens because the people in Washington who make decisions regarding Latin American countries are third-class citizens, "as was stated by the foreign minister himself."

The only way of pulling the Cuban people out of the current situation is by giving them the necessary resources to improve their living standards and through free enterprise.

RN Chairman Andres Allamand acknowledges that Cuba requires an urgent and radical political change to move towards democracy and make progress in the human rights field. He also said that the recent downing of two U.S. civilian aircraft is a highly condemnable act that violates the international law.

However, for Allamand the Helms-Burton bill is equally contradictory to international law and free trade and represents a flagrant violation of WTO regulations.

### Chile: Protest Lodged With UK Over Vessel Interception

*PY0903031696 Santiago Universidad Catolica Television Internacional in Spanish
0000 GMT 9 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] The Chilean Government has lodged a formal protest with the British Government for intercepting the Chilean fishing vessel Antonio Lorenzo while it was sailing near the South Georgia Islands in the Atlantic Ocean.

According to Ambassador Emilio Ruiz-Tagle, special policy director of the Chilean Foreign Ministry, the formal protest requests the release of the ship because the detention of the fishing vessel Antonio Lorenzo, which was catching codfish in the South Georgia Island zone, in the Atlantic, violates the Convention on the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources, CCAMLR. Both Chile and Great Britain have signed this international tool that is fully in force.

According to the United Kingdom, the ship lacked the license granted by the British Government to fish in that zone. However, the ambassador explained that the mentioned license is not necessary as long as the ship fulfills the CCAMLR requirements.

[Begin Ruiz-Tagle recording] We do not recognize the validity of that license. The CCAMLR does not mention the need for that license. Moreover, all I can say is that if the British wish to make their concern to preserve the living resources in that zone valid, they should not implement any measures other than those established by the CCAMLR. In our opinion, by implementing new requirements, their concern loses validity. [end recording]

The Concar fishing company, which owns the ship Antonio Lorenzo, has asserted that based on this same criteria, it has refused to pay the fishing license unilaterally imposed by the British Government because it believes that such fees are not contemplated in the CCAMLR treaty. The company believes that the ship may have been unduly intercepted due to its refusal to pay this fee.

The British Embassy, in turn, issued a communique explaining that, according to CCAMLR, the countries that own islands within the area where the agreement is in force have state jurisdiction over their coastlines. The communique adds that no legal actions will be taken against the captain or owner of the ship until the Falkland Islands Supreme Court determines whether it was fishing illegally in the zone.

## Colombia

### Colombia: Samper To Decide on Refusing U.S. Antidrug Aid

*PA0903195896 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2049 GMT 7 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Santa Fe de Bogota, 7 Mar (EFE) — General Hernando Camilo Zuniga Chaparro, commander of the Armed Forces of Colombia and acting defense minister, noted today the announcement made by the United States not to cut its aid to fight drug trafficking after giving negative marks to the Colombian Government.

General Zuniga, however, said that it will be Colombian President Ernesto Samper who will decide if the country will turn down the assistance offered by the U.S. authorities, which last Friday, 1 March, denied their annual certification of Colombia, deeming that the country is "not cooperating enough" in the fight against drugs.

The military officer said Colombia "deserves international support and recognition, because it is the country that is showing the greatest leadership and results in the war against drug traffickers."

On Wednesday, 6 March, the U.S. Embassy in Santa Fe de Bogota indicated that, despite the so-called "decertification," technical support for the Colombian police for antidrug operations would not be suspended.

Two days earlier, Colombian Justice Minister Carlos Medellin had described U.S. assistance as "ridiculous and poor," which according to various official sources, is between $20 million and $80 million per year.

General Zuniga is Colombia's acting defense minister during the absence of Defense Minister Juan Carlos Esguerra, who traveled to Spain to receive the patrol boat "Espartana" in the port of Cadiz.

### Colombia: Minister Medellin on Gelbard's Statements

*PA0803155196 Santa Fe de Bogota Radio Cadena Nacional in Spanish 1200 GMT 8 Mar 96*

[Telephone interview with Justice Minister Carlos Medellin by Juan Gossain and unidentified reporter; from the "RCN Radio Events" newscast — live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Gossain] The U.S. aid or cooperation to fight drug trafficking amounts to a few coins, to crumbs, Colombian Justice Minister Carlos Medellin said days ago. Yesterday in Washington at the U.S. Senate, Robert Gelbard, assistant secretary for international narcotics matters, said that this is a ridiculous statement by a person, by a minister who is adequately surnamed Medellin. Dr. Carlos Medellin, good morning.

[Medellin] Good morning, how are you?

[Gossain] Very well, Mr. Minister. What do you think about the statement that Mr. Gelbard aimed directly at you?

[Medellin] I understand that Assistant Secretary of State Gelbard does not know my family. I am not offended by his ignorance. Quite the contrary, I am again proud of my surname. Thousands of lawyers, who were students of my grandfather Magistrate Carlos Medellin, as well as the surviving colleagues of my father, Magistrate Carlos Medellin, who was assassinated during the

Palace of Justice massacre, know and respect my surname here in Colombia.

From them I inherited a firm character, and I learned the values of justice, dignity, and honesty. I am very proud of this. I am also proud that my surname symbolizes the suffering of a city, such as Medellin, which has endured the rigors of narcoterrorism. Medellin also represents the strength and good nature of the Paisas [Antioquia Department natives]; they are people who move forward.

The truth is that I do not feel hurt because his statement reflects ignorance, it again, unfortunately, reflects the ignorance of high-ranking U.S. Government officials. As I told my philosophy students, I will not return his offenses, because offense breeds offense and violence breeds more violence. Thus, I would like to end this issue here.

[Reporter] Mr. Minister, but this involves not only Minister Medellin but a country such as Colombia and a city such as Medellin.

[Medellin] As a person, as a country, and as a city we should not be offended by a person's ignorance. I insist, he is completely unaware of our reality, of our suffering. I reaffirm what I said, because I have personally suffered the effects of the struggle against drug trafficking in Colombia. Pardon me if I continue to speak in first person, but I am doing so because of the situation. And I must do so firmly.

My daughters bear the surnames Medellin and Cano, because they are granddaughters of Guillermo Cano [murdered EL ESPECTADOR editor]. Gelbard certainly does not know this and he does not care either. He does not know about the strength, the industriousness, and the suffering of the people of Medellin. Although I am not a Paisa, my surname makes me feel I have the Paisa values of authenticity, good nature, dignity, and radicalness in many instances.

[Reporter] It seems that we are indeed receiving a very small amount of aid from the United States to fight drug trafficking. If more were demanded, would we be better-off?

[Medellin] I have no doubt about that. For example, a helicopter that we need to eradicate crops and to control drug production costs $4 million. Four or five of them were downed last year, and a plane, too. The Police and the government last year requested six helicopters and an additional $100 million, but they never answered.

Thus, I insist in my attitude and position on the U.S. economic aid against drugs. Mr. Gelbard was questioned at the Congress yesterday on the small amount of aid granted to Colombia. Gelbard said that was not his fault but of the U.S. secretary of state. Thus, he also attacked his own colleague, the secretary of treasury [ministro de hacienda]. In other words, I think he admitted that they are granting us a small amount of aid to fight narcotics.

[Gossain] As for those relations Mr. Justice Minister, many Colombians are concerned because they are growing tense. A U.S. flag was burned at the Senate in Santa Fe de Bogota yesterday and, as a painful coincidence, Mr. Gelbard made these offensive and disrespectful statements at the U.S. Senate in Washington yesterday. Are we not playing with fire, Mr. Minister?

[Medellin] As for the incident at the Senate yesterday, I was there and I think it was regrettable from every standpoint. These outbreaks of rage, of leftist movements such as MOIR [Independent Workers Revolutionary Movement] must be channeled correctly for the reason I just mentioned: Violence breeds violence and offense breeds offense. I was there and I obviously condemn it. I reject such an action that does not accurately reflect the Colombian people, and how much we have suffered because of this.

As for playing with fire... [pauses] I will tell you an anecdote. I had a conversation with high-ranking U.S. officials in Colombia, with whom I have a very good and respectful relationship, about the consequences of all this, and I told them: Pardon me, but we did not bring this about, until noon Friday we had been working divinely with everyone, we had an excellent relationship. Although we have been their natural partners in the struggle against drug trafficking, we were the target of offenses, injustices, falsehoods, and inaccuracies in the certification document.

[Reporter] Mr. Minister, DEA Director Thomas Constantine [title as heard] has reaffirmed that Colombian justice is weak. He said the only solution to the drug trafficking problem is extradition. Would this reportedly be a condition to certify, to support the Colombian Government?

[Medellin] Unfortunately, the truth is that I do not think that compliance with any condition would help us much at this time. In the certification they refer on two or three instances to Santacruz, who was killed by the authorities. They mentioned him as one of many things. I think that extradition is an efficient tool to fight drug trafficking. Colombia has used it, and President Samper has authorized the extradition of powerful foreign drug traffickers on several occasions. The Constitution bans it.

If this were reviewed and constitutional reforms were made, I do not think that it would help us much with regard to certification, because there is no doubt that this unilateral decision of the U.S. Government is moved by a highly political factor related to the current electoral times in the United States. I do not think that there is anything at this time that would change the U.S. Government's opinion.

[Reporter] Mr. Minister, as for Jose Santacruz, his family claims he was executed, that this was state crime. When will the government clarify this?

[Medellin] This is perfectly clear to the government. The National Police of Colombia presented the facts and this institution [three-second break in reception] that we seek to strengthen and that we respect. This operation started on the very day that Mr. Santacruz escaped. His case deserves an investigation as that of any Colombian would, but it is perfectly clear to us that this was a clean operation carried out by the National Police.

### Colombia: Samper Condemns Burning of U.S. Flag

*PA0903170796 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1356 GMT 8 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Santa Fe de Bogota, 8 Mar (NOTIMEX) — President Ernesto Samper Pizano condemned today the burning of a U.S. flag inside the Congress as a protest over Washington's decision to decertify Colombia because of its handling of the war on drugs.

The head of state recognized that the country is hurt by the U.S. decertification after years of Colombian sacrifice and called for prudence and calm in the demonstrations against it. "The government regrets Thursday night's incident in the Congress, scenario of Colombian democracy, and asks that citizens' discontent be channeled in a respectful and calm manner," Samper's message stated. [sentence as received]

"If we demand and continue to demand respect for the people of Colombia, it is important to observe that same respect for other nations," the head of state concluded. The flag was burned in the middle of a debate on the mechanisms that will be employed to try President Samper Pizano, who accused of having ties to the drug trafficking cartels. [passage omitted]

### Colombia: U.S. Officials' Remarks Called 'Unacceptable'

*PA0903195096 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2343 GMT 8 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Trujillo (Peru), 8 Mar (EFE) — Colombian President Ernesto Samper rejected today the veiled threats and sarcastic criticism made by a congressman and a U.S. Government spokesman in Washington on 7 March, deeming them "unacceptable."

U.S. Senator [as received] Dan Burton proposed in his country's congress the massive spraying of coca crops in Colombia, Bolivia, and Peru.

Meanwhile, Robert Gelbard, assistant secretary for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, in his statements, tried to ridicule Colombian Justice Minister Carlos Medellin Becerra because of his last name.

The congressman and the official spoke in Washington before the Inter—American Affairs Subcommittee of the U.S. State Department [as received].

During the hearing, Burton, a Republican congressman and president of the Inter-American Affairs Subcommittee, demanded that the United States pressure Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia and all coca-producing nations into using herbicides to totally eradicate these crops.

Gelbard, meanwhile, tried to ridicule Minister Medellin Becerra saying his last name "suits him" and described as ridiculous the statements made by the Colombian official, who described U.S. economic aid to fight drugs in Colombia as "poor and insignificant."

### Colombia: CEP President Calls For Samper Resignation

*PA0903232596 Santa Fe de Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 9 Mar 96*

[Received via Internet]

[FBIS Translated Text] Cali — German Honguin Zamorano, president of the Permanent Business Committee [Comite Empresarial Permanente — CEP] of Valle, yesterday proposed that the church, businessmen, and the people in general unite to ask President Ernesto Samper for his resignation.

In the opinion of this business leader, the country will not be able to endure the two years and six months that remain of the Samper administration. Honguin said: "His definite withdrawal is the best thing, because it would legitimize the ruling to be passed by the Chamber's Accusations Committee, whether it is a guilty verdict or not. Besides, a ruling will not dissolve the crisis. It is necessary that the president leaves."

Holguin reiterated the proposal he made Wednesday at the annual CEP assembly before more than 60 businessmen and business leaders. On that occasion he called for a business lockout as an extreme measure to overcome the political crisis and pressure the president into resigning.

CEP comprises the region's most important economic sectors, including the sugar mills, paper and graphic industry businesses, which are among the largest in the country; agricultural enterprises; construction firms; and companies involved in agricultural and livestock activities.

Yesterday Holguin Zamorano reiterated his criticism of President Samper and called on the various sectors of the country and the region to speak up publicly in the face of the country's crisis and not in private. Holguin said: "It is time to be honest, because too much diplomacy is harming us."

Holguin said Samper is "an intelligent man who served the country in the past, but who this time must serve the country by resigning."

Holguin said this is the moment to rescue the citizens, the businessmen, and the church. He added that businessmen must make efforts to support the crusade for the recovery of ethical and moral values.

Regarding his proposal for a lockout, he said: "We will hold a lockout once our patience is worn out. No government can resist a lockout." Holguin said he has received many calls, from people in the country and from Colombians who live abroad, supporting his proposal. The backing comes from businessmen, students, and civic leaders.

Holguin said his initiative is aimed at securing a legitimate and reputable government that may count on the general backing of the Colombians, a Congress composed of honest people, and a Judicial Branch capable of judging, penalizing, and defeating impunity.

### Colombia: Samper Rejects Possibility of Renouncing Post

*PA0903221096 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1329 GMT 9 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Trujillo, Peru, 9 Mar (NOTIMEX) — Colombian President Ernesto Samper today rejected the possibility of renouncing his post due to pressure from Colombian and U.S. sectors.

Samper, who together with his colleagues from Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, and Panama made a tourist visit to Chan Chan Ib, the world's largest clay-made city, characterized calls for his resignation and threats about a national strike as "bullying." He said "the house is in order" and Colombia "is heading for a safe port."

Samper also denied he is going to ask the Eigth Andean Presidential Summit, which is meeting this Saturday and Sunday in Trujillo, 546 km north of Lima, for solidarity following decertification by the United States in the struggle against drug trafficking.

Samper said he trusts that approximately $100 million seized from Colombian drug traffickers in the United States will be sent to Colombia soon.

Yesterday Samper had stated his opposition to the proposal by U.S. Congressman Dan Burton to carry out massive fumigations in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Colombia.

### Colombia: International Commission To Oversee Eradication

*PA0903222996 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1535 GMT 9 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Santa Fe de Bogota, 9 Mar (EFE) — The National Drug Council decided, during an urgent meeting, that the government would be assigning the supervision of the country's illegal crop eradication program to an international commission.

Carlos Medellin, justice minister and council president, explained today that the decision comes as a response to "a credibility problem" in regard to Colombia's efforts in the struggle against drug trafficking and the country's intention to request economic support from Europe to carry out that task.

Medellin commented on the doubts expressed by the United States regarding Colombia's disposition to end the drug business, as well as Washington's recent decision to withhold a part of the aid granted to the Colombian Government, a decision known as "decertification."

"The illegal crop eradication program is in need of specialized international supervision, independent from the governments of Colombia and United States," the minister pointed out.

According to Medellin, the process to select the members of the commission will begin shortly and will be based on guidelines expected to guarantee that "the United States, the other governments, and the Colombian people will be able to rely on the verification of the figures presented to the country."

"We cannot continue risking the lives of police agents and continue spending all those resources, that are mostly Colombian, only to find out after a hard day's work that the credibility of our efforts is being questioned," he added.

Medellin explained that "We intend to request financial assistance from the European Union, but we will be unable to do it, if the figures are already being challenged."

Likewise, the justice minister announced that Colombian Ambassador in Washington Carlos Lleras de la

Fuente, today sent a letter to Robert Gelbard, U.S. assistant secretary for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, and to the U.S. Congress that includes a report on the results obtained by the drug eradication program during 1995.

According to official reports, during 1995, Colombian authorities were able to destroy nearly 60,000 hectares of cocaine, marijuana, and heroin planted throughout the country, a result that is being questioned by U.S. officials.

The creation of an oversight commission is, according to the justice minister, independent from Washington's decision to grant or withhold aid to Colombia, the announcement of which should be made sometime this month.

This week, Medellin described the financial resources currently being received by Colombia from the United States as "ridiculous and paltry," and insisted today that the $20 million granted in 1995 is "an insignificant amount" compared to the results obtained in the drug struggle during the year.

At the same time, the National Drug Council decided that funds seized from drug traffickers during police operations carried out in Colombia will be invested entirely in the struggle against drug production and trafficking.

"Our lawyers in Washington are expediting steps so that the funds seized during joints operations (between Colombian and U.S. officials) will be sent to Colombia," Medellin added, who described these funds as "spectacular" considering that they surpass $300 million.

### Colombia: U.S. Official Declared Persona Non Grata

*PA0903220796 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1729 GMT 9 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Medellin (Colombia), 9 Mar (EFE) — Robert Gelbard, assistant secretary for international narcotics and law enforcement affairs, was declared today "persona non grata" by the Municipal Council of the Colombian city of Medellin, which also "decertified" the U.S. Government for its attitude toward drug consumption.

Gelbard received such a qualification after disagreeing with Colombian Justice Minister Carlos Medellin on 7 March and saying that Medellin's statements were fitting for a person with such a last name.

Criticisms between the two governments this past week have centered on the U.S. decision not to grant Colombia the certificate of good conduct for fighting the production and trafficking of drugs, a process known as "decertification."

Washington's decision, announced on 1 March, was responded to this week by Minister Medellin, who described as "ridiculous and insignificant" the amount contributed by the United States for the fight against drugs in Colombia, approximately $20 million in 1995.

The Municipal Council of Colombia's second largest city has stated that Gelbard referred to the municipality in a "gross and disrespectful manner" and "reminded everyone about the notorious words pronounced by a Washington mayor who has proposed bombing Medellin."

The discontent over the statements made by the high level government official is such that the governor of Antioquia Department, of which Medellin is the capital, Alvaro Uribe Velez, will ask Congress for an official statement rejecting the matter.

Uribe Velez has said Gelbard's statements "hurt the people of Antioquia" and deserve an official protest before the U.S. Government.

Likewise, the Medellin Municipal Council has decided to symbolically "decertify" the U.S. Government because it "is unfortunate for the consumption of drugs to be on the rise in the United States without a clear and integral government policy to fight this scourge among the U.S. population."

The statement issued by the Medellin Municipal Council took place two days after a leftist congressman provoked an incident in Congress when he tried to burn a U.S. flag.

Colombian President Ernesto Samper rejected the incident and asked citizens to express "their natural discontent" in other ways, without disrespecting other nations.

### Colombia: Samper on Drug Fight, Economic Blocs

*PA1003183496 Lima Radio Programas del Peru Network in Spanish 1440 GMT 10 Mar 96*

[News conference held by Colombian President Ernesto Samper Pizano with unidentified moderator and Peruvian and foreign reporters at the International Press Center's Conference Room at the main building of the National University of Trujillo during the Andean Summit in Trujillo, Peru; broadcast in progress — live relay]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Moderator]...Alvaro Gaz.

[Gaz] [Words indistinct] bearing in mind that your fellow university students [passage indistinct] what do you think were the basic reasons that led to your country's current domestic crisis?

[Samper] The charges the Prosecutor General has presented to the Accusations Committee of the Chamber of Representatives of the Colombian Congress correspond to this process called the political crisis in Colombia. The charges simply include a series of incidents and accounts [words indistinct] the former defense minister, Mr. Fernando Botero, who are precisely the ones being investigated by the Accusations Committe.

I am absolutely convinced about the results of this investigation, which the Congress is conducting. I am absolutely convinced that the truth will come out in the end and that this truth will exonerate me. In addition, I am proud of the fact that this topic, which is of so much sensitivity because of its very delicate implications for Colombia's institutional stability, of course has been resolved and is being resolved according to the Colombian Constitution and laws. The process is being conducted in an independent and sovereign manner. This political crisis will be resolved by Colombians, with Colombian-style solutions, with our own laws, to show the world that we have to confront situations such as the attempts made by drug traffickers to infiltrate not only our political activities, but all activities in the nation. We do not only have to confront these types of threats and challenges, but we are currently confronting them without sacrificing by a single millimeter our institutions, our Constitution, and our laws.

[Moderator] The next question will be asked by Monica Martinez of [?AFP].

[Martinez] I would like to ask you about the position of the Andean countries that will be contained in the Trujillo Act. Is the U.S. Government going to be called upon to commit itself to providing an overall solution to the drug problem?

[Samper] The spirit that has surrounded all the statements of the Andean countries, not only in the context of the Trujillo meeting, but also in the context of the Rio Group meeting in Quito, and the meeting we held on the occasion of the Ibero-American Summit in Buenos Aires, is that these topics must be handled multilaterally. We reject any attempt to handle the drug problem in a unilateral manner because the responsibility that stems from a matter such as the fight against drug trafficking cannot be exclusively reduced to the role the producing countries must play. We, the producing countries, cannot resolve the conflict for the consumer countries by ourselves. As long as they do not understand that this is a worldwide responsibility, that the fight begins in the producer countries but ends in the consumer countries, and that the consumer countries must assume their responsibility before the world by reducing their consumption, by preventing the recycling of drug money through the laundering of assets, and by prohibiting the sale of precursor chemicals and weapons that are reaching these countries, we will never be able to effectively solve the drug trafficking problem in the world.

[Moderator] Following is [words indistinct] Gama Vision, Quito, Ecuador.

[Reporter] Information published in Ecuador indicated that former Presidents Rodrigo Borja and Oswaldo Hurtado might run as candidates for the secretariat general of the Andean Group. What is your opinion regarding their candidacy? Do you have any preference?

[Samper] No change has been approved yet regarding the structure of the Andean Group's charter. Last night, the presidents and I thoroughly and thoughtfully discussed this matter. We believe that today's decisions may include some basic changes that will give a new and significant drive to the Andean integration process. In case this change is made, we will then consider who are the best and most qualified individuals to implement this new program. Meanwhile, I believe it is premature for us to speculate.

[Moderator] Reporter Elsa Marquez of Venezuela's VENPRES.

[Marquez] A week ago, Venezuela sent a note of protest to the Colombian Government regarding border incidents. Please tell us: What is Colombia's reply to Venezuela's demands? How would you describe Venezuelan-Colombian relations in the light of these incidents? Thank you.

[Samper] Due to the impact of some events, countries sometimes lean toward limiting their relations merely to this sort of incident. Venezuela is Colombia's most important business partner in the Andean region. In addition, Colombia is one of Venezuela's most important partners in non-oil investments. We have an elongated border in common. More than 7 million residents, including Colombians and Venezuelans, share this border. We have said we cannot limit our relations to an exchange of notes resulting from normal border incidents, particularly in Colombia, which for many reasons has domestic public order problems that might affect the border. We have decided to implement the formal and active operation of the border delimitation commission that was previously scheduled. This will allow us to identify the landmarks in the border. A popular saying goes: Good fences make good neighbors. If we completely fix our landmarks on our border, we will be able to prevent or reduce these sorts of incidents that are, of course, a headache. However, these incidents should be viewed within the context of the significant and very fruitful Colombian-Venezuelan relations.

[Unidentified reporter] What did your counterparts here, particularly the Peruvian and the Bolivian presidents, say regarding the U.S. decertification of Colombia? What did they tell you regarding this decision by the U.S. Government?

[Samper] Colombia did not come to Trujillo looking for solidarity. What Colombia deems important is the unity of the Andean countries in search of joint actions to continue tackling the drug trafficking problem. This unity on the need for effective actions will be established in the document that will be approved this afternoon. However, we have been quite clear that we must reject the mechanism of unilateral intervention represented by the U.S. certification process, and in this regard, several of the presidents attending the summit have voiced their agreement with my position. No country should have the right to evaluate the conduct of another country; much less should a country turn this assessment into some sort of international exhibit of the country's conduct for the international community. We have rejected the decision by the U.S. Government because we deem it unfair. No one has sustained a more painful toll in the fight on drugs than the Colombian people. When decisions such as the decertification are adopted, I think about the lives of the 3,200 policemen we have lost over the past 10 years as a result of this fight; I think about the 500 officers who were killed last year in this campaign on drugs; I think about the 32,000 peasants, whose crops we destroyed last year and have been replacing with great difficulty. These are the reasons why I cannot get over my surprise with a decision, which — I do not hesitate to say — has dealt a blow to the soul of the Colombian people.

[Moderator] [Words indistinct]

[Reporter] You have said that [words indistinct] this will be resolved by the Colombian people and in the Colombian way. This remark leads me to think that you believe that the drug trafficking charges raised against you might have been — let's say — plotted from abroad? Do you believe, for instance, that the U.S. Government might have taken part in this accusation?

[Samper] If that were the case, I would have preferred they had said so. The truth is that the arguments used to adopt this decision were unfortunately arguments linked to a disqualification of the fight waged by Colombia against drug trafficking in 1995. Even if they had said so, I would still have considered it unacceptable, because this domestic crisis is a Colombian crisis, which we are resolving within the framework of Colombian laws and — I reiterate categorically — within our legal system. In the end, this is the only verdict I accept: the verdict that results from using all the procedures contemplated in our legal system for the solution of this sort of crisis.

[Moderator] Here is (Clotis Llorca) of AFP with the following question.

[(Llorca)] Some neutral observers, there are many here, have doubts about the true reasons for your country's decertification. Some of them believe that it was not only a matter of efficiency in the fight against drug trafficking. Do you have any opinion on the United States' hidden reasons? Why haven't they made them public?

[Samper] I believe it is not up to me to answer this question, but it is up to the United States. If there are other reasons, we are willing to discuss them. This does not make less serious the fact that Colombia's fight against drug trafficking is being publicly undermined.

[Moderator] Luis Eduardo Maldonado of Radio Cadena Nacional of Colombia.

[Maldonado] [Words indistinct] the Andean Pact will now become the Andean Community. There will be a different political and economic handling of the group, but will the group exist under similar terms as other groups such as Mercosur [Common Market of the South] and the EU?

[Samper] These will be the topics that will be discussed by the presidents today. What I could say in general is that we must not forget that the Andean Group is the oldest integration process that has ever existed in Latin America.

Since 1968, we have been working with this integration process. Even though some may have thought the process had been in a frozen state, let us call it that, I believe it has fulfilled a vital function, which is to create conditions of free trade in the area. That is exactly why we have the case of trade relations between Colombia and Venezuela, between Peru and Bolivia, between Ecuador and Colombia, and between Peru and Colombia. The fastest growing area for our exports has been precisely the one taking place within the Andean area. What we have to do is to make further progress. Just as we created a closed Andean Group when protectionism was in fashion, a type of wall that surrounded the boundaries of all our countries, now we have to work for an open Andean Group that can allow us to negotiate with the EU, with the Asian Bloc, a group that can allow us to have an advantageous relation, not only among ourselves, but with the world. We hope these precepts will be contained in the declaration and in the change of the Andean Group's Charter, which will be defined this afternoon.

[Moderator] One final question will be asked by Richard Power from Swiss Radio.

[Power] As for new attempts by Mercosur and NAFTA, for example, to create a group with Venezuela and Mexico, does this not mean that on the one hand you are attaching importance to the Andean Pact, but on the other hand you are directly looking for negotiations with those other integration blocs?

[Samper] A bloc does not exlude the others. All countries of the hemisphere signed a continental document on integration and free trade, which was signed in Miami on the occasion of the Summit of the Americas. If you add NAFTA to the agreements Mexico has with Central America; the G-3 [Group of Three] that links Mexico, Venezuela, and Colombia with the Caribbean; the Andean Group; the Mercosur; and the bilateral agreements Chile has with practically all countries of the region; you would realize that we are not far from creating a hemispheric zone of free trade, which is the one we need to face other large world trade blocs such as the EU, the ASEAN, or the OAU. The world is headed toward a globalization of its free trade, which does not mean that each country will join it individually. The best thing would be for countries to reach these blocs within a respective regional society and that is what I believe is being done in Latin America and, obviously, in the continent of the Americas.

[Moderator] We thank Colombian President Ernesto Samper.

## Colombia: Ministers' Remarks Upset Business Leaders

*96P20324A Santa Fe de Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 7 Mar 96*

[Article by Ismael Enrique Medina F. — received via Internet]

[FBIS Translated Text] Colombian businessmen are moving farther away from the government each day.

Members of the National Council of Business Associations (CGN) will reportedly issue a statement today expressing their concern over the lack of governability and the economic costs which President Samper is incurring by staying in government.

They will also express their disagreement with the government's reaction to decertification which downplays the importance of what has happened.

They insist this has led to a substantial deterioration in relations with our principal trading partner, and they state that the situation could get even worse.

In addition, they reject statements by the Minister of Justice and the Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade who have spoken in disrespectful terms about the U.S. Government assistance which has been lost, or which could be lost, as a result of decertification.

Meanwhile, the deteriorating situation of relations between the president and the business associations has reached the point where, in Valle del Cauca, the president of the Business Committee, German Holguin, has proposed—as a last resort to resolve the crisis and if things do not improve—that an industrial work stoppage be carried out as was done in the times of Rojas Pinilla.

### Displeasure

The business association representatives expressed their displeasure with statements by some government officials who have downplayed the possible damaging effects of decertification.

Some of the members of the CGN criticized those officials "for their, at times, arrogant attitudes."

Statements such as those of Justice Minister Carlos Medellin, that the assistance from the United States is "ridiculous," or those of Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Alfonso Llorente Sardi, who said that the country did not want handouts (referring to the trade preferences given by the United States), shook up business association leaders and more than one businessman.

The issue was analyzed in depth at a CGN meeting. There, three business association leaders spoke of the danger that such statements could mean for businessmen. They felt that this attitude on the part of high-level Colombian Government officials could accelerate the application of retaliatory trade measures by the United States.

The president of Fedemetal [Colombian Federation of Metal Industries], Gustavo Tobon Londono, was one of those who expressed the greatest concern about the situation. "Those kinds of inopportune statements could exacerbate the problem," he stated.

The business association leader said that "it is unbelievable" that a Justice Minister would speak in such a disrespectful manner about cooperation with a country.

In Tobon's view, these statements put at risk the fate of many businesses that export to the United States thanks to those benefits.

The president of Camacol, Alberto Vasquez Restrepo, said one must be careful about making statements of that kind and even more so when government officials are the ones making them. "The statements are out of context which can only serve to harden the position of the United States," he explained.

### The Lobby Continues

Now that they feel relations are deteriorating, the spokesmen for the productive sector have decided to carry out their own lobby in the United States. They have little faith in what the government can do for them.

For this reason, the coordinator of the CGN, Alfredo Fuentes, packed his bags and will leave today for Washington where he will meet with businessmen and U.S. Government spokesmen to bring the message that Colombian manufacturers will seek their own certification.

"The CGN will promote a strategy to keep Colombia from being subject to sanctions in the wake of decertification," explained Fuentes who stressed that the situation is a difficult one.

The objective now is to continuously monitor what is happening with the different sectors. The advantage is that each of the 15 business associations can be attentive for any kind of action," he explained.

### The Economic Cost

In addition, the CGN analyzed the political and economic situations and announced that a stern statement will be made regarding the incidents involving the Agricultural Credit Bank [Caja Agraria] and the electrical sector.

Some members of the CGN told EL TIEMPO that the statement will express the organizations' rejection of these negotiations since they show that president Samper is ready to allow the country to suffer significant economic costs in order to remain in power.

In this statement, they will speak of the problems there will be with controlling inflation if the government continues offering positions and perks in order to garner support.

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### Colombia: Businessman Views Strike as 'Last Resort'

*96P20327A Santa Fe de Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 7 Mar 96*

[Received via Internet]

[FBIS Translated Text] The president of the Valle Business Commission has proposed a solution before the economy is irreparably affected.

The president of the Valle Business Commission, German Holguin, invited the country's businessmen to take a united position with respect to the institutional crisis "to attack it before it is too late."

Holguin, who spoke before the Commission Assembly, said that it is necessary to use all legal means to save the country. He even dared to propose, as a last resort, that a business strike be carried out, similar to what was done during the time of Rojas Pinilla.

The proposal was well received by Valle del Cauca businessmen, who applauded for nearly four minutes. They liked that alternative.

However, Holguin said that the time is not yet right and that, before arriving at this step, it is necessary to achieve a concensus among all Colombian businessmen.

He said, "it is preferable to voluntarity go on strike in order to obtain legitimate and noble objectives, than to be forced to go on strike tomorrow because of international pressures or because of an internal situation which is unmanageable."

The important thing, Holguin added, is "to unite all businessmen in a crusade for the truth and for the rule of morality and ethics in the country. For a government and a legislature which brings honor to the country in the eyes of its people and the world."

If the decertification brings serious consequences and the problems worsen, that will be the time to carry out a business strike.

He insisted that the sanction is intended neither for the people nor, for the businessmen, but would be directed towards those who allowed the resurgence of drug trafficking over the course of the years, for those who caused the institutional crisis, and for those responsible for financing the presidential campaign.

He said that another serious development would be the suspension or scaling back of bilateral assistance programs.

He stressed that the ones who will really be affected will be those who engage in legal exports, which exceed some $3 billion annually.

Finally, he said there are three paths from which to choose. The first would be to join the chorus of nationalist sentiment, which would lead nowhere and would only encourage polarization among social groups. The second would be to do nothing, and that is not what business people are trained to do. And the last would be to take action to avoid chaos; this is the path the businessmen of Valle have chosen.

### Colombia: Recent Actions by DAS, Mogollon Criticized

*96SM0135A Santa Fe de Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 7 Mar 96*

[Commentary by Enrique Santos Calderon: "Don Heyne Lacks Zeal" — received via Internet]

[FBIS Translated Text] As a response to the decertification, the death of Jose Santacruz Londono could not have been more powerful. One has to wonder: if this event had taken place two or three weeks ago, would we certified be today? Will it influence the Yankee Congress, which still has the last word on the subject?

There can be no doubt that the Virgin Mary has once again appeared to President Samper at just the right moment. It reminds one of the capture of Miguel Rodriguez, which took place the same week that Santiago Medina's revelations had pushed Samper to the brink of the abyss. In any event, the death of Santacruz gives Samper breathing room, strengthens the image of the police, and constitutes an unequivocal warning to those who are considering flight.

It is surprising that someone who was being so vigorously pursued—and presumably so well protected—would have died alone and without anyone knowing whether his driver or his bodyguards had been wounded or even arrested. It is also strange that it was a nephew of Pablo Escobar—a sworn enemy of the Cali cartel—who claimed the body and transported it to Cali. Does an alliance exist today between the surviving members of the two cartels? Is there a simple nonaggression pact, or are there other motives?

What is certain, however, is that General Serrano and his team have dealt a blow that neutralizes—at least to some extent—the negative effects of decertification on the nation's image. The police and their intelligence units are vindicated, and by operations such as these they serve to strengthen the belief—as an Army general put it recently—that the Armed Forces belong to the nation, not to the administration currently in power.

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of of a security force such as the DAS [Administrative Department of Security], which by its most recent actions is giving the impression that it mistakenly confuses the security of the nation with the defense of President Samper's image.

The first disturbing sign of this conduct was the arrest in Eldorado of Fernando Botero's associate and the seizure of her documents, which according to the new director of the DAS "adversely affect the institutional stability of the nation"—an assertion that Botero's lawyer called "grotesque" and that remains to be proven.

This was followed by a hasty report concerning the murder of Isabel de Sarria, which stated that the crime had been solved and that the motives were personal. The report was apparently so hasty that the Prosecutor General's Office was obliged the following day to explain that neither the motives for the murder nor the identity of those who ordered it are known.

And finally, there is the disturbing fact that the DAS director—who will be determining the future orientation of this national security agency—is an old political associate of the president and a key figure in Samper's campaign in Bogota.

Whereas Samper has an old and unconditional political ally at the helm of the secret police, he also has supporters of various kinds on the Accusations Committee that is investigating him. Although these supporters may have been acquired more recently, they are no less loyal, by virtue of the generous prebends (in the form of government jobs or cofinancing for various projects) that the government knows how to dispense to those who serve it well.

The most important of these more recent allies is, of course, the chairman of the Committee—the already famous Heyne Mogollon—who has just announced that it will take every last minute of the 80 days allotted to him to "complete the investigation of the case."

It would be surprising if there were no delays—or if there were any desire to expedite an investigation—inasmuch as the longer the delay, the more oxygen the president has to breathe, even though the nation is being asphyxiated. Draping himself in his title of "investigating representative," Mogollon is buying time for Samper by utilizing all sorts of delaying tactics.

It is already one month since the Committee rescinded the famous inhibitory ruling issued last December, but still no date has been set for issuing a summons for Samper to appear for questioning. The opening of a formal investigation will presumably be accompanied by a summons to appear. The only requirement is that there be some evidence of the responsibility of the accused. Can it be that no evidence exists? What of the lengthy complaint issued by the prosecutor general? Can it be that the evidence from Valdivieso has suddenly lost its value?

Investigator Mogollon has limited himself to collecting statements from persons who had a second-level relationship with the Samper campaign. In the majority of these cases, the Prosecutor General's Office had already transmitted a copy of their testimony. Does this testimony need to be repeated? What happened to the concept of "procedural economy?"

Nor is there any indication that the other members of the Committee—who have not met again—have any interest in monitoring Mogollon's performance. Nor has he permitted the formation of a civil party to the proceedings, and has rejected—without reference to any legal formula—all such requests from oversight groups organized by citizens.

In Mogollon's opinion, the civil party is represented by the agent of the Attorney General's Office—the same bureaucrat who during the preliminary investigation (this sort of thing has been going on for almost a year now) rendered an opinion that sounded more like an exculpatory political speech by the president than a legal document.

In short, the death of Santacruz Londono has understandably provided President Samper with a breather, but the air that the Accusations Committee is attempting to give him to breathe may in the long run prove to be unhealthy for him. This is because it may result in completely poisoning public opinion, which is already saturated with so much deception and so much cynicism.

## Ecuador

### Ecuador: Tudela Remarks Said Not To Affect Talks

*PY0903024396 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0009 GMT 9 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Quito, 8 Mar (EFE) — Ecuadoran Defense Minister retired General Alfonso Alarcon today asserted that Peruvian Foreign Minister Francisco Tudela's statements do not affect the border negotiations with Ecuador. Ecuadoran Army Commander General Paco Moncayo agreed with Alarcon.

In referring to Tudela's statement on 7 March in Lima that the first border problem mentioned by Ecuador on its list of impasses "is political and imprecise," Alarcon said that "those are isolated commentaries."

Alarcon asserted that "the important thing is that they have to sit at the negotiating table," where the representatives of the two countries will have to "talk, hold dialogue, and express their viewpoints to be able to reach a conclusion regarding this subject (border)."

On a date yet to be established, Ecuador and Peru will start definitive talks in Brasilia to overcome the border conflict that has caused at least three military conflicts during the past 54 years.

On the list of border problems, Ecuador stated that "the Rio de Janeiro Protocol is partially inexecutable," which Tudela said was a "political and imprecise" declaration. Alarcon said he fully agreed with the Ecuadoran position, "which is in keeping with our theory, our right, our history, and our feelings."

In referring to the Ecuadoran claim for sovereignty over a portion of the Amazonas River, Alarcon added that "we have an outlet to the Amazonas because our history tells us so."

Moncayo, who acknowledged that "Peru and Ecuador need to consolidate their brotherhood," said that Tudela's statements "do not affect future negotiations between the two countries."

"That is the Peruvian foreign minister's opinion; we must always believe that if there is a problem and negotiations are under way, it is because there are differing viewpoints."

He said that people must have confidence the discrepancies between the two countries will be overcome "because the best steps are being taken" within the process in search for a definitive binational solution.

Moncayo added that "I am tired of warning the country not to be overly optimistic and expect speedy steps to be taken and easy solutions. We have been dragging along different viewpoints since we became a Republic."

"Within the framework of the historical perspective, we must understand how difficult the negotiations with Peru will be," Moncayo warned, and he said that "we hope we can bring our positions closer so that we may reach a solution."

He added that the clearer the positions of each country, the easier the relationship will be at the military as well as diplomatic level. Therefore, "I believe we are taking the best possible steps so that, given real circumstances, the two countries may reach a definitive peace."

For the first time in more than 50 years, Ecuador and Peru have started a peace process and definitive negotiations after a war waged between 26 January and 28 February 1995, due to territorial differences in the Cenepa River valley in the Amazon, 350 km south of Quito.

### Ecuador: Disclosure of Impasses Called 'Step Forward'

*PY0903024196 Quito Voz de Los Andes in Spanish 2300 GMT 8 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Deputy Foreign Minister Marcelo Fernandez de Cordova has stated that the disclosure of the list of impasses represents a step forward and that both positions, that of Peru and Ecuador, must be discussed and negotiated.

Fernandez de Cordova stated that in the past, Peru would have never accepted discussing the Ecuadoran theory, and that it upheld its position, which it believed should be fully recognized by Ecuador. However, a positive step forward for the two countries has been taken these days.

He explained that the stance represented by Ecuador's four impasses and that of the two Peruvian impasses cannot be vetoed in the sense that one party cannot veto the other. In addition to this, the position of one country does not compromise the position of the other country.

Fernandez de Cordova reiterated that the Ecuadoran position and the most important issue is the inexecutability of the Rio de Janeiro Protocol due to the existence [as heard] of the divertium aquarum between the Santiago and Zamora Rivers, which is the geographical accident mentioned in the Rio de Janeiro Protocol.

## Peru

### Peru: Tudela Interviewed on Dispute With Ecuador

*PY0803174696 Lima America Television Network in Spanish 1230 GMT 8 Mar 96*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Francisco Tudela by special correspondent Aurea Sampen in Trujillo and station anchor in Lima — live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Sampen] Good morning from Peru. We are here in Trujillo where the 8th annual summit of the Andean Group will take place. Yesterday the foreign ministers of Andean Group countries arrived in Trujillo. Peruvian Foreign Minister yesterday made an important statement on the Ecuadoran list of subsistent impasses. Ecuadoran Foreign Minister Galo Leoro also reapplied to that statement. Today we are here with Foreign Minister Francisco Tudela. Mr. Tudela, do you know the answer given by Foreign Minister Galo Leoro to your statement that list of impasses was imprecise. He said this was not the moment to create this type of situation, that the lists are to be discussed at the level of two governments before making them known to the press. What can you tell us about this?

[Tudela] Well, the agreement reached in Quito on 22 and 23 February stated that the lists would be immediately be released in Brasilia. Thus, the two lists were submitted for consideration of public opinion. It is obvious that the foreign minister of a country, who is politically responsible for the foreign policy, or who is in charge of the ministry, has to explain the national position about the two lists which are of public knowledge. In this manner I made a statement on the Peruvian position. But this by no means thwarts the diplomatic process. We believe the presentation of the lists — and I want to point out that there are two lists and that one must be understood based on the other; the Peruvian position is set out in the list presented simultaneously — does not mean talks must not continue. Peru has fulfilled all international agreements and will fulfill Point No. 6 of the Itamaraty (Brazilian Foreign Ministry headquarters) Peace Agreement which establishes that Peru and Ecuador must talk about what the Itamaraty Declaration calls subsistent impasses.

Thus, the statement I had made is a position that will be taken to the negotiating table in Brasilia, and I do not see any problem for public opinion to learn about the position of its Foreign Ministry concerning a list which is of public knowledge. It is not possible to silence the content of a public document which is shown to the people. I also want to add that the communique issued by the Ecuadoran Foreign Ministry, which presents the two lists, talks about points that must be negotiated, while the agreements we reached in Quito talk about subjects of negotiations. I would say that these subtle differences forced the Peruvian foreign minister to explain to Peruvians the Foreign Ministry's point of view...

[Unidentified anchor in Lima, interrupting] Mr. Foreign Minister, can you hear us? Good morning.

[Tudela] Yes. Good morning.

[Anchor] On those points that must be negotiated, there are great expectations on how these subjects will be treated, especially those subjects that are already known, because the list of impasses is already known. What kind of meetings will be held, or will there be negotiations really?

[Tudela] We will now discuss the procedures for talks on these important issues. These talks imply discussions in details, and it is very difficult to know which items will be negotiated. The two lists are the main raw material for the talks. It is said that the Quito Agreement will be the gist of talks. Which points of those lists will be negotiated? When and how they will be negotiated depends on the diplomatic process, and the diplomatic process cannot begin until the preliminary stage of procedures is concluded. We already have the game set up, now we need the instructions.

It was very important for us to become acquainted with the two national positions before discussing the procedures, and I do not think this requires further explanation to public opinion. [passage omitted]

[Anchor] Will the handling of talks fall upon the highest-ranking officials, that is on you, or will delegations be designated gradually increasing the level to the point of reaching the most important points?

[Tudela] The Peruvian opinion, which is also shared by Ecuador, and which was established at the talks held in Lima on 17 and 18 February this year, is that there will be two representative delegations. This means they will be high-level delegations, but the foreign ministers will not directly negotiate any point. The foreign ministers will continue to participate in this stage until the procedures are well established. Once this is resolved, the delegations will be established and they will meet in Brasilia. This agreement was reached between Peru and Ecuador.

[Anchor] Concerning procedures, and looking at them from a global point of view, I would like to ask you about the role of the guarantor countries, because initially and at first sight, they hold very different positions. How much can the guarantor countries influence events, or are they only witnesses of the agreement the two countries might reach?

[Tudela] No. They are not just witnesses. They play a very important clarifying role in interpreting the texts the two countries might produce during the course of talks. Thus, it is very important, like during the talks in Quito and in Lima, to ask the guarantor countries concerning a specific point, on how they interpret a particular point of the Rio de Janeiro Protocol, which is what gives them their role. In the two cases when this happened, the help of the guarantor countries was very important. They are establishing essential points which are then discussed by the two parties.

They also play another role in the sense that they can suggest formulas in a given moment so as to facilitate talks between the two parties. Obviously, what they cannot do is impose a formula on either party. [passage omitted]

### Peru: Fujimori Denies Finance Minister's Resignation

*PY1003202296 Lima Radio Programas del Peru Network in Spanish 1854 GMT 10 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] President Alberto Fujimori expressed today from Trujillo his support for Economy and Finance Minister Jorge Camet.

He also announced some touches to the current economic program to improve it and to prevent some distortions. Fujimori labeled Minister Camet's eventual resignation as mere speculation. He noted Camet's ability to negotiate the Peruvian debt with international financial organizations.

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